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INTERNATIONAL

LENINIST IDEAS ON WORKER-PEASANT ALLIANCE STILL RELEVANT

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 9, Sep 82 pp 89-97

[Article by N. N. Demochkin, Doctor of Historical Sciences: "V. I. Lenin on the Revolutionary-Democratic Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Peasantry"]

[Excerpts] Analyzing Russia's socio-economic and political development at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, V. I. Lenin in his work, "Two Tactics of the Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution,"¹ and also in the article, "The Revolutionary-Democratic Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Peasantry,"² as well as other works, demonstrated that the victory of the socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia must be preceded by the stage of revolutionary-democratic changes. The form of rule during this stage would be a democratic republic. The class contents of the new state authority would be revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry. V. I. Lenin's conclusions regarding the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry comprise a component of his theory of socialist revolution.

In the present consultation on the topic of the Third VUZ Program of the Course in the History of the CPSU we are confronted with the task of examining the following questions: 1. V. I. Lenin's development of the question of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry. 2. V. I. Lenin's struggle against opportunistic distortions of the slogan of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry. 3. The international importance of the Leninist doctrine on the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry.³

* *
*

In elucidating the third question, we must demonstrate that the Leninist doctrine on the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry received new affirmation in the process of the revolutions which were victorious during and after World War II in a number of countries of Eastern and Central Europe, Asia, and in Cuba.

The revolutions in these countries began as broad-based popular movements for liberation from foreign occupation forces and for national state independence.⁴⁰

Without resolving these tasks it was impossible to carry out revolutionary changes and establish a socialist system. The popular revolutions grew out of the anti-fascist, anti-imperialist, national-liberation struggle. But their characteristic trait in the countries of Europe and Asia was not only of a national-liberation nature. The struggle of the popular masses was waged at the same time against internal class enemies as well--the monopolistic bourgeoisie and the landowners, who were collaborating with the occupiers.

During the course of the struggle an alliance was formed between the revolutionary and democratic forces as personified by the working class, the peasantry, a considerable portion of the intelligentsia, the urban petite bourgeoisie, as well as the patriotically minded strata of the middle-class bourgeoisie. The leading force in this alliance was the working class, headed up by its vanguard--the communist and labor parties.

The Fatherland (National) Front emerged as a form for uniting the diverse social strata. It included members of the communist, social-democratic, peasant, petit-bourgeois, and other parties, along with various social and professional organizations which were taking part in the fight against the occupation forces. Thus, for example, the Hungarian National Front for Independence (VNFN), created upon the initiative of the Communist Party on 2 December 1944, included the following: the Communist, social-democratic, national-peasant parties, the party of the small-scale rural farmers, the bourgeois-democratic party, and the trade unions as well.⁴¹

In its essence, the popular-democratic regime at this stage of the revolution's development was a variant of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat, peasantry, middle urban strata (artisans, craftsmen, petty traders) with the leadership role being played within it by the working class.

The general democratic program of the popular-democratic revolutions expressed the interests of wide circles of all the progressive strata of society, and, in the main, these interests coincided with the interests of the working class. The inclusion within the program of such general democratic measures as the liquidation of large-scale capitalist property-ownership, the promulgation of an agrarian reform, and others, prepared the working class and all working people for a further development of the revolution, to the necessity and inevitability of its growing into a socialist revolution. Of decisive importance in the development of the revolution, in the re-grouping of the society's political and class forces, was the fact that the working class, headed by its Marxist-Leninist parties, emerged as the commonly acknowledged leader of all the democratic forces of society.

It should be particularly emphasized that the Leninist idea of the proletariat's hegemony in the democratic revolution is the corner-stone of the theory of the democratic revolution growing into a socialist revolution. The proletariat's hegemony ensures the development of the democratic revolution, the stage-by-stage transition to solving increasingly radical problems, and the advancement of socialist goals.

The development of democratic revolutions in a number of countries in Eastern and Central Europe as well as in Asia led to the establishment of a dictatorship of

the proletariat; moreover, this was not a one-time act but rather the result of a continuing and sharp struggle to assert the leadership of the working class and its vanguard in society within the framework of a transition-type state, such as the popular-democratic states were in the first stage of the revolution's development.

The history of the ensuing years demonstrated the unique new forms of transition to socialism, brought about by national traits and specific conditions within the framework of the general principles of a socialist revolution.

In Cuba, for example, the principal task of the revolutionary regime during the first decade consisted in holding out, in repulsing the aggression of imperialism and its agents, in mobilizing all the revolutionary forces of the people to smash hostile attacks and, at the same time, to continue and deepen the radical socio-economic changes. During the course of this process the unity of all the revolutionary forces in the country was strengthened, based on Marxism-Leninism, and determined the socialist nature of the revolution.

And today also the Leninist idea of a people's regime as the most important lever for implementing a program of anti-imperialist and anti-monopolist, democratic changes and a necessary condition for the uninterrupted development of the revolution is of extremely timely importance. In the first place, this pertains to countries which have won their national independence and have chosen a socialist orientation. During the course of their development transitional forms are engendered in the areas of economic changes, social inter-relationships, and revolutionary-democratic state principles.

The profound crisis of the capitalist society has brought about an acute need for radical democratic changes. Today this is being recognized by increasingly wider strata of the population, which is experiencing the yoke of capital. By relying on these strata of the population and the alliances created by them, the working class is capable of carrying out profound transitional democratic measures, clearing the ground for a socialist revolution. The Basic Document of the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of 1969 states the following: "The Communist and workers' parties--in contrast to the right-wing and 'left-wing' opportunists--do not oppose the struggle for profound economic and social demands and for a progressive democracy to the struggle for socialism, but rather they consider it as a part of this struggle. The radical democratic changes which will be achieved in the struggle against monopolies, against their economic domination and political power, will facilitate the recognition by the ever-broader masses of the inevitability of socialism."⁴²

The Leninist doctrine of the transitional economic and political forms in the development of the revolutionary process is now being creatively worked out in the documents of the Marxist-Leninist parties of the capitalist countries. They have defined a program of profound, transitional-type changes. The practical experience of the working class and its allies for intermediate goals has led them to a recognition of the necessity for a socialist revolution. In speaking about the affirmation of an anti-monopolistic, democratic state during the course of the struggle, we must draw particular attention to the fact that this state is not any kind of stage in the development of capitalism. The establishment under the conditions of an anti-monopolistic democracy of a state authority, led by the working class and

being implemented jointly with other anti-monopolistic forces, as well as the liquidation of the monopolies' property ownership and its transfer to the state, testify to the beginning of the promulgation of profound, democratic changes.

The struggle of the Communist Parties against imperialism, to carry out deeply democratic changes, is indivisible from the struggle for their ultimate goals, for the winning of political power by the working class in alliance with all other detachments of the working people, for socialism. And the more consistently the democratic struggle is carried out, the closer it will approach the socialist tasks. The struggle for democracy and socialism represents two inter-related aspects of a single, revolutionary process.

FOOTNOTES

1. See V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 11, pp 1-131.
2. See V. I. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 10, pp 20-31.
3. In order to elucidate these questions, we recommend that the following literature be utilized: "Istoriya Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza" [A History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union], Vol 2, Moscow, 1967; "Leninskaya teoriya sotsialisticheskoy revolyutsii i sovremennost" [The Leninist Theory of Socialist Revolution and the Present Day], Moscow, 1972; "Problemy gegemonii proletariata v demokraticheskoy revolyutsii" [Problems of the Proletariat's Hegemony in a Democratic Revolution], Moscow, 1975; K. I. Zadorov, "Tri revolyutsii v Rossii v nashe vremya" [Three Revolutions in Russia during Our Time], Second Edition, Moscow, 1977; Yu. A. Krasin, "Teoriya sotsialisticheskoy revolyutsii: leninskoye nasledie i sovremennost'" [The Theory of Socialist Revolution: The Leninist Heritage and the Present Day], Moscow, 1977; "Istoriya Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza" [A History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union], Sixth Edition, Moscow, 1982, and others.
40. The people's democratic revolution in Bulgaria, as was noted at the Seventh Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, was socialistic in its nature from its very beginning, and the regime which was established as a result of the victory of this revolution was a regime of the type of a dictatorship of the proletariat.
41. Based on it, the Popular Front of Independence was formed in 1949, and since 1954 it has been named the Fatherland Popular Front.
42. "Mezhdunarodnoye soveshchaniye kommunisticheskikh i rabochikh partiy". Dokumenty i materialy [International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties. Documents and Materials], Moscow, 5-17 June 1969, Moscow, 1969, p 306.

NATIONAL

JOURNAL ROUNDTABLE ON NATURE, FUNCTIONS OF PARTY LEADERSHIP

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 9, Sep 82 pp 31-58

/Article: "Methodological Problems of Research on Party Leadership of the Developed Socialist Society in the Light of the Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress (Materials from a Roundtable Discussion)"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface/

/Excerpts/ Under the heading "Discussions" we offer here for the readers' attention materials from a "roundtable," organized by the Scientific-Research Institute of the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU CC and the editors of the journal VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS.

This roundtable discussion of the methodological problems of research on party leadership of the developed socialist society in the light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress was opened by the director of the Scientific-Research Institute of the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU CC, doctor of economic sciences, Professor /S. V. Rogachev./ He emphasized the great importance of the problems under discussion, connected, in the first place, with the further growth in the leadership role of the KPSS--the nucleus of the political system of the developed socialist society, with the necessity of solving urgent problems in the history and theory of party building.

It was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress that a "Marxist-Leninist party cannot perform its role if it does not pay the necessary attention to trying to understand everything which is happening, to summing up new phenomena of life, and to /the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory."/1

The activity of the CPSU embodies in itself the unity of revolutionary theory and specifically-historical practice. General questions of party leadership, general party decisions and directives are interpreted and made specific by party organizations, taking into account local characteristics, conditions, and possibilities. At the same time, the positive experience of party work, accumulated in the localities, enriches the theory and practice of the scientific leadership of society and takes on a general party significance.

The important task which at present confronts the historians of the CPSU, specialists in the field of history and the theory of party building, S. V. Rogachev noted, consists of studying in a universal and comprehensive manner and summing up the historical experience of party leadership of economic, socio-political, and

ideological processes. However, the scientific analysis of advanced experience presupposes a profound study of general methodological problems. In connection with this, we must discuss extremely important methodological problems, which, nevertheless, have still been insufficiently developed in the literature, problems linked with scientific studies on the growth of the party's leadership role in the vital activities of Soviet society and further improvement of party leadership at the stage of developed socialism.

The roundtable participants heard a report entitled "On the Essence, Principles, and Systems Nature of Party Leadership," which was delivered by the director of the problem council on "Party Leadership of State and Public Organizations," doctor of historical sciences, Professor /B. M. Morozov./

Taking part in the exchange of opinions were the following persons: chief of the Party Construction Department of the Marxism-Leninism Institute under the CPSU CC, doctor of historical sciences, Professor V. Ya. Bondar'; deputy director of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, doctor of philosophical sciences, Professor /V. N. Ivanov/; doctor of juridical sciences, Professor /G. V. Atamanchuk/ (Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU CC); chief of the Organizational-Party Work Department of the Scientific Research Institute of the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU CC, candidate of philosophical sciences, /V. A. Kulinchenko/; senior scientific staff member of the Scientific-Research Institute of the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU CC, candidate of historical sciences, /A. F. Khutin/; chief of the Department of Party Leadership of Socio-Economic Processes of the Scientific-Research Institute of the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU CC, candidate of economic sciences, /P. S. Osipenkov/; senior scientific staff member of the Scientific-Research Institute of the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU CC, candidate of historical sciences, /V. A. Grigor'yev/; chief of the Party Construction Sector of the Institute of Party History of the CPSU MGK [Moscow City Committee] and MK [Moscow Oblast Committee], candidate of historical sciences, /D. M. Stepnov/; doctor of historical sciences, Professor /N. N. Vinogradov/ (Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU); chief of the NITs [Scientific-Research Center] Department of the VKSh [Higher Komsomol School] under the Komsomol CC, doctor of historical sciences, /V. K. Krivoruchenko/; consultant of the CPSU History Department, Post-October-Revolution Period, to the editors of the journal VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, candidate of historical sciences, /B. S. Shcheprov/; senior scientific staff member of the Party Construction Department of the Marxism-Leninism Institute under the CPSU CC, candidate of historical sciences /T. T. Popov/; docent of the VPSH [Higher Party School] under the CP of the Ukraine CC, candidate of historical sciences, /Yu. V. Shilovtsev/ (Kiev); docent of the Party Construction Department of the Moscow VPSH, candidate of philosophical sciences, /V. M. Safronova/; senior scientific staff member of the NITs of the USSR Ministry of Culture, candidate of psychological sciences, /D. V. Ol'shanskiy/; senior scientific staff member of the Institute of General History of the USSR Academy of Sciences, candidate of historical sciences, /F. B. Yesiyeva/.

The materials of this roundtable were prepared for the press by the editor of the Party Construction History and Theory of the journal VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, candidate of philosophical sciences, /V. V. Shinkarenko/ and the senior scientific staff member of the Department of Organizational-Party Work of the Scientific-

Research Institute of the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU CC, candidate of historical sciences /A. F. Khutin./

Party Leadership Is a Scientific Leadership

/V. N. Ivanov./ In the literature the problems of scientific leadership and scientific administration are justifiably linked with a knowledge of the laws of social development and with their skilful application. But life has shown that this kind of approach, whereby everything leads to a knowledge of the laws, i. e., to broad, theoretical abstractions, is not always sufficient. Today we must speak about scientific leadership, emphasizing the unconditional necessity of knowing not only the general laws but also the specific social situations.

Analysis of actual situations presupposes the necessary theoretical training of personnel. The party arms its staffs with a knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory in the unity of three of its parts--philosophy, political economy, and scientific communism. These disciplines comprise the foundation of the theoretical potential of every party and soviet worker. Nevertheless, they become an effective weapon of leadership and administration only when they are skilfully used in the practice of all organizational activity and constitute its unalienable element.

Scientific leadership and administration also presuppose the knowledge and taking into consideration of the laws of the functioning of the individual spheres of social life: economics, culture, everyday life, etc. This theoretical-methodological foundation allows us to profoundly analyze the local social situations, as determined by the specifics of this or that region.

An important source of the necessary information is comprised of the data of statistics and sociological studies. As experience has shown, the latter are included more and more widely in the practice of party work on various levels. However, there are still more significant reserves for improving this work.

In speaking about political leadership under the conditions of socialism, it must be emphasized that emerging as its principal subject is the Marxist-Leninist party, organizing the activity of all the state organs and public organizations, working out a policy and defining a program for creating the new society, along with the strategic and tactical methods and means for implementing it. Inasmuch as the socialist society is still not fully socially homogeneous, the concordance of the interests of all classes and social groups, the consideration of common and individual factors, is a matter of top-priority importance for the leadership of society. The political approach to the basic problems of building socialism and communism, combining the vital needs for social development with its prospects, is ensured by the party. It is precisely the party leadership which embodies the primacy of politics over economics. Herein, of course, the party does not ignore economic laws but rather skilfully uses them, without allowing subjectivism or voluntarism.

I would also like to draw attention to certain positions which, in our view, are disputable. First of all, to the problem of the subject and the object of leadership. In my opinion, the subject of the administration of a society is its political system. Under the conditions of developed socialism, the party is included

within the political system; it is its nucleus, that is, its principal, most important element, and through its representatives it directs the work of all the remaining elements of the political system. Thus, the party, on the whole, carries out its leadership of the various spheres of social life and society both directly and indirectly through its representatives in other organizations.

Now about principles and the approach to their definition. The methodology for defining the principles was worked out by the classics of Marxism. "Principles," wrote F. Engels, "are not the point of departure for research but rather its concluding result; these principles are not applied to nature or to human history but are abstracted from them...."¹⁸ Correctly defined principles become the guiding ideas in people's activity and the rules for this activity. Hence, it would be incorrect, in my view, to identify the principles of party leadership with any kinds of positions whatsoever, and, all the more so, with any trends in the party's activity.

The principles of party leadership are abstracted from the practical experience and are defined on the basis of the practical experience of the party organizations. The system of these principles can be supplemented by new principles, as the accumulated experience is analyzed.

With every passing year life sets forth more and more complex problems. It seems to me that, along with a great deal of attention to methodological questions, we should study more actively the experience of the party's leadership activity in direct connection with the problems which arise in the economy, in the social sphere, in spiritual life, etc.

It is necessary to direct the efforts of researchers to the most important thing, acting in accordance with the principle of the basic unit. Take, for example, the problems of scientific leadership of the economic sphere. As studies have demonstrated and as the analysis of historical experience has convinced us, the guarantee of further progress in the field of economic construction is impossible without sufficient account being taken of social factors. Or problems connected with the leadership of the ideological process. Under the conditions of the acute ideological struggle in the international arena, the class adversary has significantly stepped up his attempts to exert a disintegrating influence on the consciousness of Soviet people. This requires corresponding scientific reflection of the problems of organizing counter-propagandistic work with various strata and groups of the population, particularly with the youth.

The results of scientific studies will, undoubtedly, also help in solving practical problems of improving party leadership and administration of the principal spheres in the life of the developed socialist society.

Towards a Study of the Process of Improving Party Leadership

/A. F. Khutin./ Studies of the essence, principles, specifics, mechanism, and other questions of party leadership, of course, have not only a theoretical but also a great practical importance. Because, you know, on the theoretical understanding of these problems depends, to a large extent, further study and practical improvement of party leadership of all spheres of public life--economics, politics, culture, etc.

Under present-day conditions the CPSU is constantly improving the system of party leadership. This is manifested, in the first place, in the fact that party leadership is based on an ever-firmer scientific foundation, the political line of the CPSU, specific measures in the spheres of economics, culture, party and state construction, and foreign policy are being profoundly and meticulously worked out, taking into account the achievements of all the social sciences. In the second place, there is a consistent implementation of a course aimed at universally improving the party leadership of state and public organs, increasing their initiative, independence, and responsibility, and at further developing socialist democracy. In the third place, there is an improvement in the forms, methods, and style of party leadership of the economy, ideological sphere, culture, and other areas of public life.

Inasmuch as the effectiveness of party leadership, like that of all administration of society, depends on people, there are increased demands on the selection of leadership personnel, their training and re-training. In connection with this, there is great importance attached to the scientific working out of a problem to be accomplished by the Scientific-Research Institute of the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU CC: "The Present-Day Party Worker and Ways of Shaping Him."

Increasing the effectiveness of the party leadership of various spheres of public life depends, to a considerable extent, on a correct and timely solution--in theory and in practice--of the problems of party construction and intra-party relations. This is facilitated, above all, by the development of intra-party democracy, the strengthening of party discipline, improvement of the qualitative make-up of the party, and raising the ideological-political level of Communists.

The USSR Constitution precisely reflects the place of the Communist Party within the Soviet political system. Article 6 of the Constitution provides a characterization of the leading role of the CPSU, the trends of the CPSU's leadership of state and public activities, as formed in practical experience.

The creative activity, efficiency, and initiative of the Soviets, trade unions, Komsomol, and all other public organizations depend, to a large extent, on how skilfully and specifically their activity are directed by the party organizations. V. I. Lenin taught that party leadership of mass public organizations of working people would be fruitful if it is carried out as a political leadership, without allowing any substitution in the activity of these organizations.

Under the conditions of developed socialism the CPSU strives to expand the rights and obligations as well as to improve the activities of state and mass public organizations.

In this connection, the party's Central Committee also adopted such important decrees as the following: "On the Work of the Local Soviets of Workers' Deputies of Poltavskaya Oblast" (1965), "On the Work of the Party Organizations of Perm-skaya Oblast on the Leadership of Trade Unions" (1967), "On the Work of the Krasnoyarsk Regional Party Organization regarding Leadership of the Komsomol" (1968), "On Party Leadership of the People's Control Organs in the Latvian SSR" (1975), "On the Work of the Karagandinskiy Party Obkom regarding the Implementation of the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress in the Party Leadership of the Trade-Union

Organizations and Increasing Their Role in Economic and Cultural Construction" (1979).²²

The above-mentioned decrees provide a detailed analysis of the party committees' work on increasing the role of the Soviets, trade unions, Komsomol, and other public and state organizations. They have summed up all the best which was worked out by many years of practicing party leadership in this sphere; they have defined the further tasks of the party committees with regard to strengthening and developing mass organizations of working people and improving the leadership of their activities.

By relying on these decrees, the party organizations are constantly perfecting the system and methods of political leadership. They are striving to bring about a situation whereby the work of the public organizations may be specific, effective, so that the public organizations avoid a narrowly bureaucratic approach to matters, and help by all their activities to strengthen the tie between the party and the people, to cement the ideological and moral-political unity of our society.

The 26th CPSU Congress indicated the necessity to constantly improve the party leadership of all spheres of economic, socio-political, and spiritual life. This is demanded by the dynamism of the Soviet society's development and the growing scope of communist construction. The party is achieving a situation whereby all the activity of the party organs and the primary party organizations regarding the leadership of socio-economic processes may be conducted on the basis of Leninist principles of party leadership and the unwavering observance of the norms of party life.

Further improvement in party leadership is one of the most important factors in carrying out the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the magnificent plans for building communism.

Towards a Study of the Scientific Foundations of Economic Leadership

/P. S. Osipenkov./ The scientific foundation of party leadership of the national economy is the economic theory of Marxism-Leninism. By relying on the positions of the political economy of socialism, the CPSU has worked out a policy which directly determines the contents of the activities of all party committees. Thus, effective party leadership of economic construction presupposes, in the first place, the development of a scientifically grounded economic policy and, in the second place, a profound analysis of the general conditions and the specific situation in each unit of the national-economic complex, as well as taking into consideration the objects of leadership.

"The art of political leadership," justifiably notes one of the works, "also consists in the ability to correctly utilize general laws and principles, taking into account the specific traits, nature, and functional characteristics of the object being administered."²³ If a political organ (the subject of leadership) "catches" the internal laws of the economic and social development of the object and constructs its own activity in accordance with these laws, then it is acting as an expeditor of such development. For effective leadership, therefore, it is necessary to know the situation profoundly and specifically in each section, to operationally influence the processes which are taking place.

The following conclusions may be drawn from this. In the first place, specificity is the inalienable criterion of the scientific quality of party leadership of economic development--and, in connection with this, researchers must take for their study urgent, practical, and actually existing problems. In the second place, the activity of party committees is determined, to a large extent, precisely by the characteristics of those objects which they influence.

The traits of party leadership of the national economy, for example, of a kray or an oblast which are being studied by the Scientific-Research Institute of the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU CC must be drawn precisely from the characteristics of the object of leadership; otherwise they simply could not be understood. This, it is thought, is justifiable not only with regard to party leadership of the economy but also with regard to leadership in other spheres of public life. Thus, the utilization of new forms in working with personnel should be preceded by appropriate studies, analysis of the make-up of the personnel, and a correlation of the results of the analysis with the needs for development in the specific section, with the possibilities of improving the qualitative make-up of the leadership workers and the methods of their activity.

The methodological foundation for elucidating the essence of party leadership of the national economy is the Marxist-Leninist doctrine concerning the correlation between the base and the superstructure, concerning the dialectic between the objective conditions and the subjective factor in economics. The party constitutes the most important part of the social superstructure, actively influencing the economic base. The essence of party leadership consists, in the final analysis, of influencing the subjects of production relations, i. e., in improving these relations. The party influences not only production relations but also all other social relations, meaning that political relations play an active, transforming rôle within the entire system of social relations.

Economics determines politics, but politics also influences economics, imparts a specific direction to its development. Political means are a powerful instrument for economic and cultural construction, while party leadership is an all-encompassing activity, directing the very complex process of building communism. The principal sphere of political activity is the economic one. Therefore, leadership of the national economy comprises the principal contents of the activity of party organs. "The problems of economic leadership," stated L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress, "are not simply economic but political and party."²⁴ In this connection, the essence of party leadership of economic construction, obviously, can be understood only as a process of influencing the improvement of production forces and as the highest goal of the party's economic policy.

There is yet another problem which needs to be worked out by the joint efforts of political economists, administrative theoreticians, philosophers, and specialists in the field of party and state construction. It is a matter of the inter-connection among the production, administrative, and political relations under the conditions of developed socialism.

In its general aspect, this inter-connection is represented in the following manner. Production relations, as is known, determine the nature of administrative and political relations. Thus, a change in the forms of ownership of the means of

production immediately requires corresponding changes throughout the entire administrative system and in the politics of the state. Raising the level of the socialization of production and making economic ties more complex presupposes specific improvement of the administrative system and the promulgation of a course aimed at intensifying the economy.

Under the conditions of socialism production relations, of course, do not develop spontaneously. They are consciously regulated and constantly improved by means of state administration and party leadership. In a definite sense, one may speak about the objectivity of all social relations and, at the same time, about the possibility of their well-planned improvement, at which the party leadership is also directed.

In a developed socialist society the administrative organs which constitute the state distribute, for example, the means of production, control their movement and, consequently, their proportions in the national economy and thereby influence production relations. In just such a way exchange, distribution, and consumption are regulated, and, as a consequence, production relations are improved.

It has already been noted that a fixed condition for a high degree of effectiveness in party leadership of the economy is the precise and consistent delineation of functions between party, state, and economic organs, and mass organizations of the working people.²⁵ The Leninist principle of delineating functions among party and state organs has been reinforced in party directives.²⁶ Its consistent observance has become particularly important under present-day conditions in connection with the complication of social relations and the growth in the volume of administrative and leadership activities with regard to their regulation.

On the other hand, these same circumstances have brought about the need for a close inter-action among the party, Soviet, and economic organs. The object of party and state leadership is one and the same thing. In essence, the goals and tasks of party and Soviet organizations are also the same. Hence it follows that economic construction is that sphere where the success of the matter depends, in decisive measure, on the smoothly coordinated inter-action among party, Soviet, and economic organs at various levels. "The activity of the party apparatus in Soviet society," writes K. U. Chernenko, "is difficult to examine in isolation, apart from its ties with the work of the organs of state power and economic administration. Their close inter-action is today an inalienable trait of the leadership style of party organs."²⁷

In attempting to discover the mechanism for implementing economic policy under the conditions of developed socialism, we must examine party leadership in close connection with state administration, with the organizational work of Communists directly among non-party members, and with the agitation-and-propaganda work of party organizations, by means of which the party also influences production relations and all other social relations.

On the Connection with the Masses in the Light of the Tasks of Increasing the Effectiveness of Party Leadership

/D. M. Stepnov./ Close ties with the masses constitutes the foundation for increasing the effectiveness of party leadership. V. I. Lenin constantly emphasized the party's principal task as follows: to work among the people, to draw new strength from the depths of the people, to develop ties with the masses. "Precisely so that," V. I. Lenin pointed out, "the mass of a /certain class/ can learn how to understand its own interests, its own situation, to learn how to conduct its own policy, precisely for this reason we need an organization.... In order to serve the masses and express /their/ correctly recognized interests, the advanced detachment, the organization, must conduct its entire activity among the masses, drawing from them all the best forces without exception, checking at every step, meticulously and objectively, as to whether its ties with the masses are being supported, whether they are alive."³⁰

The questions of the strengthening and development of the party's ties with the masses occupy an important place in the materials of the 26th CPSU Congress. "The unbreakable unity of the party and the people," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized, "has grown even stronger during the five-year plan just passed. It was and it remains a source of our society's powerful strength!"³¹ Refracted through the prism of the entire system of party leadership is all the diversity of the sides and facets of the party's ties with the masses.

At the 26th CPSU Congress it was noted that specific concern for specific persons is the beginning and end point of the party's economic policy.³² In questions of economic and social policy the strengthening and development of the party's ties with the masses occur on the basis of improving the party's leadership of the economy. "It has long been known," L. I. Brezhnev pointed out, "that the party slogans and programs live in the activities of the masses."³³

Socialist democracy is an expression of the unity of the party and the people. The 26th CPSU Congress pointed out that the Soviet democracy provides for interested concern in the common cause, in the development of production, the compilation of opinions, frank and principled criticism and self-criticism, and increasing the socio-political activity of every citizen.

The party's ties with the working people are carried out both directly as well as through the mass organizations. Of great importance for strengthening the party's ties with the masses is the development of intra-party democracy. An important channel for the party's vital ties with the masses is composed of the letters and suggestions from the working people. This is one of the most reliable and valuable sources of information concerning the demands and aspirations of urban and rural workers, concerning the state of affairs in various fields of our society's political and spiritual life, one of the means of implementing the political rights of Soviet citizens.

Among the number of forms and methods for strengthening the party's ties with the masses the congress also included party information. It was noted that the CPSU CC and all party committees have begun to make more active use of the information from the primary party organizations; it helps them in considering public opinion and in picturing the state of affairs in the localities.

"Publicity in the work of the party organizations," L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out, "is an effective means for strengthening the party's ties with the masses."³⁴ At the congress the task was posed of improving this extremely important component of the party's political and organizational work, of studying public opinion more profoundly. The duty of researchers specializing in the area of party construction is to render effective aid to party committees in implementing the congress's positions concerning the further strengthening of the party's ties with the masses.

On the Systems Nature of CPSU Leadership of State and Public Organizations

/N. N. Vinogradov./ In the scientific studies and the practice of party construction the systems approach is now becoming more and more widespread. This is explained by the achievements of present-day science and the increased requirements of political practice. "The achievements of modern-day science and practical experience," justifiably notes V. G. Afanas'yev, "convincingly testify to the fact that the world around us, both material and ideal, is composed not of individual, isolated objects, phenomena, and processes, but an aggregate of inter-connected and inter-acting objects, a definite kind of /systems, integrated formation."/³⁵

The systems approach has aroused researchers and practical workers to give equal consideration in the dialectical tie to all units in the party leadership of the Soviets, trade unions, Komsomol, cooperatives, and other organizations of the working people. Neglect or undervaluation of one unit inevitably leads to a situation whereby there is a failure to attain a multi-faceted idea of the object of study.

The systems approach flows from the essence of party leadership of state and public organizations. It provides a reliable key for a true understanding of the party's leadership activity and allows us to conceive in all their aggregate and in their inextricable unity all those components which make up the system of party leadership. By means of this system there is an assurance of universal ideological-political influence of the party on the contents and style of work by the state organs and public organizations, on their qualitative improvement in accordance with the new possibilities and requirements of social progress.

We must agree with the position that the increased level of party leadership at the stage of mature socialism has not yet reached the necessary summing up in the literature. The need for a more profound understanding of the processes taking place in the political life of Soviet society at the present stage and a summing up of the new phenomena of our times received particular attention in the documents of the 26th CPSU Congress.³⁶

Under the conditions of developed socialism an increase in the level, along with an improvement of the forms and methods, of party leadership have been dictated by reasons of an objective and subjective nature.

In the first place, by the uniqueness and the requirements of the Soviet society's present-day stage of development. In the documents of the party and its Central Committee there are scientific grounds for the conclusion that the political life of our society under the conditions of mature socialism is characterized, on the one hand, by further raising the role and responsibility of the CPSU, and, on the other hand,--by strengthening and developing Soviet statehood, as well as unfurling socialist democracy. Moreover, the party proceeds from the position that the

growth of its leading role and the importance of the activity of the state and public organizations is an inter-connected and inter-conditioned process, flowing out of the very nature of the socialist system. "While constantly promulgating the line of enhancing the party's role in building communism," L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out, "we must never forget the fact that the implementation of this line requires the active work of all organizations, and, above all, that of the Soviets, trade unions, and Komsomol."³⁷

In the second place, the necessity of intensifying the party's influence in state and public organizations is conditioned by the further expansion of their full powers and sphere of activity. The USSR Constitution, plus the constitutions of the Union and autonomous republics, by allotting broad rights and obligations to these organizations, have opened up before them new opportunities for effective work and powerful development on the path of the transition to a higher phase of communist formation. And this means that "the responsibility of our Leninist party will grow even greater."³⁸

In the third place, one of the leading factors requiring a universal improvement of party leadership is the dynamic development of mass organizations. They now encompass practically all the country's adult population. For example, if in 1961 Soviet trade unions included 63 million working people, by 1982 this figure has already reached more than 131 million, including 12 million kolkhoz members. At that former time the ranks of the Komsomol comprised 19 million youths and girls, whereas now the figure is about 42 million. In recent times a number of new public organizations have been formed--the All-Union Society of Book-Lovers, the republican societies for the preservation of historical and cultural monuments, and others. Independent, democratic principles have developed further in the activities of the state and public organizations. They are becoming more and more representative and enjoy more and more authority.

On Studying the Problems of Training Leadership Party Personnel

/V. M. Safronova./ Each new stage in our society's development presents new and higher requirements for its members. Consequently, party personnel carrying out the leadership of various sectors of public life are confronted with new and more complex tasks, which, in turn, presupposes an even higher level of their training.

V. I. Lenin developed principles of selecting, arranging, and training personnel. The Leninist requirements for party staffs have found further development in the documents of the CPSU, the materials of the 26th Party Congress, in the works of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and other leaders of the Communist Party and the Soviet State. The profile of a party worker has been sufficiently widely elucidated in the contemporary literature. The CPSU CC has emphasized the need for further studying the problems of training and indoctrinating the present-day party worker, capable of solving with great effectiveness the multi-faceted problems of leadership in building communism.

Of course, the researchers are confronted with complex questions. Suffice it to say that, if in the process of research, for example, in determining the necessary qualities which party workers are to derive from those functions which they perform, from their area of specialization, then merely an enumeration of these

qualities would be extremely significant.

Our task is to isolate from among them the most general and important ones, those which are necessary in equal measure for any party worker, regardless of the sphere of his activity and which comprise the source and foundation for predetermining all the other qualities.

Such a quality, in our view, above all, is the level of their knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory, the ability to apply it in practical activity. A high level of methodological training today characterizes a large number of responsible party workers, a wide circle of party personnel and activists. Nevertheless, the party requires its further enhancement. In our opinion, this is, on the one hand, a consequence of the existing objective need to further raise the theoretical and methodological level of training party personnel, brought about by the increased demands on them under the conditions of developed socialism, and, on the other hand, this bears witness to the enormous trust which the CPSU has in its personnel, recognizing their heightened political, cultural, and educational level.

In the decree entitled "On Measures to Improve the Training of Party and Soviet Staffs in the Higher Party School under the CPSU CC," the party's Central Committee directed the staffs of party workers to "persistently master the Leninist art of leadership of the masses, to develop within themselves a feeling for the new, an ability to combine the solving of current problems with prospective social development."⁴⁸ Carrying out this requirement is an important task for party personnel.

Solely on the basis of Marxist-Leninist science and methodology is it possible to have a profound, multi-faceted, and objective analysis of the processes and phenomena which are taking place, a correct determination of the paths for further movement forward, and an improvement in the level of party leadership of the various sectors of public life.

V. I. Lenin advised us to study life, to sum up and try to understand the processes which are taking place, "applying" theory to "local" conditions, utilizing the devices of the materialistic method and the theory's appropriate general positions to study specific phenomena.⁴⁹ He emphasized the necessity of learning how to "apply in practice the materialistic analysis and materialistic evaluation of /all/ aspects of the activity and life of /all/ classes, strata, and groups of the population."⁵⁰

These positions precisely define the requirements for a level of party leadership of all aspects of society's development, they stress the need of the correct methodological approach to the analysis of the processes of present-day public life, the ability to examine them through the prism of general theoretical positions. At the same time, they also determine the nature of studying the problem and are extremely important for researchers with regard to methodology.

Here it must be noted that, in general, this is a very complex problem--to know how to use the method of materialistic dialectics in research activity. As F. Engels noted in his own time, "it is one thing to acknowledge it (the dialectic--/V. S./) in words, but another thing to apply it in each individual case and in each given field of study."⁵¹

All this makes especially urgent the further working out of the methodological problems of studying the party leadership of the developed socialist society in the light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, in particular--the methodological problems of studying the training of leadership party personnel.

Studying the Psychological Aspects of Party Leadership

/D. V. Ol'shanskiy./ The posing of the question of the systems approach to the study of party leadership is very topical and timely. Only the systems approach is, obviously, even capable of encompassing such a comprehensive, complex phenomenon as party leadership. Indeed, you know, the subject of the leadership in the given instance is a very complex social formation, requiring the combination of many factors and conditions.

The party leads the masses, while the masses are composed of people, individuals, functioning in various spheres of social life. The systems quality here is conditioned by the complexity and multi-faceted quality of the object of party leadership as well as by the no less complicated nature of the subject, i. e., by both basic units of what we designate as the "system of party leadership." And this means that we can ensure the successful, effective study of party leadership only by fully taking into consideration its systematic nature.

Of course, this problem is complex, and it needs special development. It is subject to multiple refinements, but already now one can define it as one of the fundamental questions in the studies of party leadership at the present-day stage. It is undoubtedly the case that the systems approach to party leadership is correct and has good prospects.

Systematic study of the experience of party leadership also provides for research on its psychological aspects. This is an important side of the matter. Because, you know, it is precisely people, individual persons who emerge as the most important components, the subjective and objective units of the party leadership. In many works by K. Marx, F. Engels, and V. I. Lenin one may find indications of the need to know mass psychology, people's interests and needs. The 26th CPSU Congress emphasized once again the party's particular interest in what kind of "human interests on the production-line and in daily life, the complex inner world of the individual personality, and its place on our restless planet..."⁵²

It is clear that a knowledge of human psychology, the psychological aspects of these or other phenomena, and an analysis of mass psychology constitute substantial factors, important conditions for the effectiveness of party leadership. This also determines the place of psychology in general and individual psychology in particular within the systematic study of party leadership.

Let me dwell on several situations in which the role of the psychological factor is quite evident and plays, speaking frankly, an essential role. It is well known that the psychological factors in the party's ideological-indoctrinational work have been widely studied in the specialized literature. It makes a great deal of sense, therefore, to attempt to analyze situations arising in the process of organizational-party work and party leadership which have still not been specially studied.

Such situations are primarily inter-relations between Communists in party organizations. I am not going to cite specific examples; it is clear to anyone that these inter-relations are not always simple, and the main thing is that they are not always the same. And this gives rise to a whole set of questions combined within the problem of the moral-psychological climate within the party organizations. Moreover, it is not only the primary organizations, where the party leadership, as a rule, is social work. Take, for example, the moral-psychological inter-relationships within a group of raykom workers. As is well known, even the most improved instructions are not capable of taking into considerations simple human sympathies or antipathies, cannot propose a ready-made algorithm for that which is needed to "form relations." Or, in contrast, how to avoid that whereby they "are not formed." But, you know, these informal, inter-personal relations have a great influence on everyday work, on people's sense of satisfaction, and on the effectiveness of party leadership.

More at hand and, perhaps, more obvious questions arise also in party meetings in primary organizations. Unfortunately, still too often the nature of inter-personal relations affects the course of discussions of other questions and the essence of the decisions which are being adopted.

A whole series of problems is represented by the psychological and moral aspects of contacts between party workers. These problems may be divided into two large groups. On the one hand, these are contacts between party workers, on the other hand,--between party workers and groups of people, individual persons in relation to which leadership is being carried out.

Among the numerous problems the most important is the problem of studying the motives for the activity of a party worker. This question--the motives for activity--is, in general, basic in the psychology of any individual personality, but, as applied to leadership, and especially to party leadership, it assumes not an abstract-theoretical, supplementary meaning, but rather the most essential importance. In daily matters, in everyday life someone can still be reconciled with the fact that a person in his words at times strives for one thing, seeming to be guided by the common cause and well-being, but in fact he has completely different motives, concealed and far from common causes. However, such things are utterly impermissible for a party worker.

In studying a party worker's personality, we must not limit ourselves to motivations--to assertions which a person makes in answering a direct question about his goals. In analyzing his behavior, it is necessary to have recourse to answers to questions about depth motivation--herein, perhaps, lies one of the key factors.

Sometimes the following question arises: why do party workers who have received the same education, have graduated from the same school, and become equally well-trained operate with different degrees of effectiveness? People speak with justification about various situations and conditions of their work. However, we should not forget about some vitally important things: people are different. And, therefore, it is also necessary to study the different psychology of these people and those motives by which they are guided in diverse situations.

Such a line of research may also receive very interesting historiographical development in the form of an analysis of the personal motivation of professional revolutionaries. Most likely, this would be useful for summing up the enormous experience of the party and utilizing it for indoctrinating personnel, for working out specific recommendations in the matter of selecting, distributing, and indoctrinating personnel. It would seem that an analysis of the diaries and personal documents of professional revolutionaries, the reminiscences of contemporaries about them would show the main thing which set them apart: their behavior (including that of their everyday lives), based on the awareness of the necessity to subordinate everything to their duty, to the party, and to the people. An understanding of freedom as recognized necessity, the subordination of oneself to duty to society distinguished the entire life, all the conduct, and the entire personality of the professional revolutionary.

One could continue citing examples, but it is obviously so clear that psychological aspects play a large role in party work. And if they have been relatively well studied in the sphere of ideological work, then their study in the field of party leadership is an urgent task for the immediate future.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1981, p 77.
18. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 20, p 34.
22. See "Voprosy organizatsionno-partiynoy raboty KPSS". Sbornik dokumentov [Problems of the Organizational-Party Work of the CPSU. Collected Documents], Moscow, 1981.
23. T. P. Arkhipova, V. F. Sbytov, "Voprosy teorii i praktiki politicheskogo rukovodstva. Opyt deyatel'nosti raykoma partii" [Problems of the Theory and Practice of Political Leadership. Experience in the Activity of a Party Raykom], Moscow, 1981, p 26.
24. "Materialy...", p 51.
25. See Ye. Z. Razumov, "Partiynnye komitety--organy politicheskogo rukovodstva" [Party Committees--The Organs of Political Leadership], p 30.
26. See "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences, and CC Plenums], Vol 1, Moscow, 1970, pp 315, 344, and other documents.
27. K. U. Chernenko, "Voprosy raboty partiynogo i gosudarstvennogo apparata" [Problems of the Work of the Party and State Apparatus], Moscow, 1980, p 7.
30. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 24, p 37.
31. "Materialy...", p 3.

32. See Ibid., p 49.
33. Ibid., p 51.
34. Ibid., p 74.
35. V. G. Afanas'yev, "Sistemnost' i obshchestvo" [Systemicity and Society], p 3.
36. See "Materialy...", pp 77-78.
37. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom. Rech'i i stat'i" [Following the Leninist Course. Speeches and Articles], Vol 1, Moscow, 1970, p 220.
38. Ibid., Vol 6, Moscow, 1978, p 546.
48. See "Ob ideologicheskoy rabote KPSS". Sbornik dokumentov [On the Ideological Work of the CPSU. Collected Documents], Moscow, 1977, p 527.
49. See V. I. Lenin, Op. cit., Vol 1, pp 274-275.
50. Ibid., Vol 6, p 69.
51. K. Marx and F. Engels, Op. cit., Vol 21, p 302.
52. "Materialy...", p 62.

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NATIONAL

BROMLEY VOLUME ON NATIONALITIES PRAISED FOR PRACTICAL POLITICAL VALUE

Kishinev KOMMUNIST MOLDAVII in Russian No 9, Sep 82 pp 92-94

[Review by A. Yesaulenko, professor and doctor of historical sciences, of book "Natsional'noye i Internatsional'noye v Sovremennom Mire" [The National and the International in the Contemporary World] by (editorial board) Yu. V. Bromley, I. P. Kalin (responsible editors), M. N. Guboglo, V. S. Zelenchuk, M. I. Kulichenko, and D. T. Ursul, Izdatel'stvo "Kartya Moldovenyaske", Kishinev, 1981, number of copies and pages not indicated]

[Text] "In the contemporary struggle for a new, just world," the CPSU Central Committee decree entitled "The 60th Anniversary of the Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" emphasizes, "a great brotherhood of working people has arisen with a feeling of being a single family. An indestructible Leninist friendship among peoples has formed and served as the inexhaustible source of the constructive creativity of the masses of people."

Indeed, during their own 60 years of history the peoples of the Soviet Union have learned that in unity, solidarity, and fraternal alliance their strengths grow and multiply and the processes of social, economic, and cultural development accelerate and go forward at an unprecedented rate.

It is precisely these deep-seated processes which are taking place today in the Land of Soviets to which the collective work "The National and the International in the Contemporary World" is devoted. The book deals with the problem area of the relationship between the national and the international on a broad plane, including the dialectical unity of the national and the international in the USSR under conditions of developed socialism and in the countries of the socialist community, as well as the confrontation of these categories in class-antagonistic societies.

The problem of the relationship between the national and the international under conditions of the scientific-technical revolution is becoming increasingly global. It has been and remains one of the most pressing problems of the contemporary age. Academician of the USSR Academy of Sciences Yu. V. Bromley writes in the introduction that, according to the most conservative calculations, the human race today has inherited at least 2,000 ethnic communities from the past. All the peoples who populate the planet are encompassed by no more than 150 states.

The great variety in the political, national, linguistic, and racial structure of the human race today makes the dynamics of contemporary development of the human race especially multifaceted. This leads to the great complexity of studies that aim at identifying national and international characteristics.

This book was put together by a large collective of authors. It was written on the basis of materials from an all-Union scientific-theoretical conference held in Kishinev in 1979. The conference was organized by two scientific councils on nationality problems, the council attached to the Social Sciences Section of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the council of the Division of Social Sciences of the Moldavian SSR Academy of Sciences.

This fundamental work which we are reviewing considers the relationships between the national and the international on several levels: within particular republics, chiefly using the example of Moldavia; within the Soviet Union as a whole (special attention is devoted here to the Soviet people, a new historical community); within the community of socialist nations, emphasizing the formation of deep internationalist features in them; in the entire nonsocialist world, where a distinction is made between the industrially developed capitalist countries and the developing countries; and finally, on a global scale, stressing the principal features of the processes of internationalization in the socialist world and the capitalist world.

The book devotes special attention to the historical experience of the CPSU and Soviet State in solving the nationality problem. Analysis of these problems in their global aspect would make it possible to identify the advantages of socialism over capitalism even further. In turn, simultaneous consideration of the problem of the national and international within the framework of the socialist and capitalist worlds is especially important both for us and for foreign specialists if only because they are given an opportunity to familiarize themselves with some of the latest results and methods of studying national processes under socialism.

There is one more important characteristic of this book that should be noted. This is its interdisciplinary character, which has made it possible to treat many aspects of the topic: economic, social class, legal, cultural historical, linguistic, ethnic, esthetic, and psychological. This ultimately promotes exchange of scientific information between representatives of different social science disciplines.

This comprehensive work devotes significant and proper attention to methodological questions. Reality demands this. In our day, the age of opposition between proletarian internationalism and bourgeois nationalism, it is particularly timely to focus attention on the methodological aspect of national problems and the processes of internationalization.

The greatest strength of the book is its closeness to practical issues of national relations. This is seen especially graphically in the sections of the book prepared by I. I. Bodyul, T. U. Usubaliyev, I. P. Kalin, G. I. Yermey, A. F. Dashdamirov, G. O. Zimanas, and other party, Soviet, and trade union workers.

The profound and thorough description of national processes in our country given in the section written by doctor of philosophical sciences I. I. Bodyul, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party and now deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, is combined with a painstaking analysis of different aspects of the contemporary development of Moldavia. In this section the author shows convincingly how Moldavia conquered its former backwardness in comparison with other republics in a historically short period of time thanks to convergence of levels of economic development, a complex and multifaceted process guided by the consistent policy of our party.

The section of the book written by T. U. Usubaliyev, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Kirghiz Communist Party, fixes attention on various aspects of the international and national in the early formation and development of the Soviet way of life. Using concrete documentary material he shows the formation and development of the Soviet way of life and the important role of friendship among USSR peoples in its continuing refinement. The author emphasizes that CPSU policy, while consistently implementing the principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism, sees one of its principal challenges as maintaining a basic similarity in the conditions and way of life of all the nations and nationalities of the great Soviet Union. "The formation of a socialist way of life on concrete national soil," T. U. Usubaliyev observes, "completely confirmed Lenin's teaching that international uniformity of principle in the approach to solving similar problems does not require that diversity be eliminated, but rather that the fundamental principles of communism be applied in such a way that these principles are correctly modified in particulars, correctly adapted, and applied to national and national-state differences" (pp 37-38).

The section of the book devoted to questions of international indoctrination speaks of the direct, immediate link between science and practical socialist building. This section, entitled "The Unity of the National and International in Communist Indoctrination of the Working People," was presented by candidate of economic sciences I. P. Kalin, secretary of the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party and presently Chairman of the Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Using a wealth of concrete material I. P. Kalin reveals the considerable, multifaceted work being done by party organizations toward internationalist indoctrination. The working people of Moldavia, the author observes, are proud of their successes and at the same time "they are aware, and ideological workers emphasize by every means, that these successes, every quintal of grain, meat, and grapes produced, include the labor of miners, machine builders, chemical workers, power industry workers, the entire working class of the country, and of all the fraternal peoples" (pp 57-58). It is important in indoctrination work, I. P. Kalin writes, to emphasize the indisputable fact that by their heroic labor, unselfish struggle, "unshakable loyalty to the principles of internationalism, and hard work the Russian people have won the profound respect and complete trust of all the peoples of our country" (p 62).

The sections written by academician of the USSR Academy of Sciences Yu. V. Bromley and academician of the Moldavian SSR Academy of Sciences N. G. Korletyanu, as well as by candidates of sciences S. I. Bruk, M. N. Guboglo, and others are of great scientific and informational interest.

The section entitled "The International and National in the Contemporary World," written by Yu. V. Bromley, analyzes the most important sources of conflicts among ethnic communities using the example of countries that differ by level of socioeconomic development. He reveals the profound antagonism between the national and the international in capitalist society and the indissoluble unity of these categories in the socialist world, and shows all the advantages of the socialist world in a convincing, scientifically substantiated way.

The reader will find the third chapter of the book, submitted by doctors of sciences M. I. Kulichenko, A. V. Grekul, L. Ye. Repida, G. S. Yentelis, and others very interesting.

The rich factual material presented by the authors on both the USSR and particular Union republics gives a convincing picture of the social and economic foundations of the convergence of the socialist nations and development of the process of internationalization in our country. The leading role of the working class of the Land of Soviets permeates all the profound historical processes taking place in contemporary socialist society.

The fourth chapter, entitled "The National and the International in the Sociopolitical Life of the USSR Peoples," occupies an important place in the book. This chapter considers several issues: "Continued Internationalization Is a Natural Pattern of Development and Refinement of Soviet National Statehood" (by E. V. Tadevosyan), "Socialist Democracy and the Unity of Nations" (by L. N. Lisitsyna), "The Unity of the National and the International in Defense of Socialism" (by V. F. Samoylenko), and "The National and the International in the Formation and Consolidation of Moldavian Statehood" (by A. M. Lazarev).

Academician of the Moldavian SSR Academy of Sciences A. M. Lazarev reveals the history of the origin of Moldavian statehood, showing how the Moldavian people employed the experience of state building of neighboring Slavic peoples and the fraternal help of the Russian, Ukrainian, and other peoples to restore, preserve, and consolidate their national statehood. He observes that this prolonged struggle ended with complete victory after the Great October Socialist Revolution, under conditions of Soviet reality. He writes, "For Moldavia, as for numerous other national regions of the country, the formation of Soviet national statehood was particularly important. The Soviet statehood of the Moldavian people created the possibility of rapid economic and cultural development in Moldavia and successful progress by the republic along the path of building socialism" (p 192).

The sixth chapter, entitled "The Soviet Way of Life and Problems of Internationalist Indoctrination," is devoted to important issues on both the political and scientific planes. This chapter was submitted by V. D. Danilenko and M. S. Platon, heads of divisions of the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party, academician of the Moldavian SSR Academy of Sciences D. T. Ursul, doctor of historical sciences V. S. Zelenchuk, and others. The sections they wrote — "The Unity of the National and the International in New Soviet Ritual Behavior," "Timely Issues of Internationalist Indoctrination of the Working People in the Traditions of the Soviet People, a New Historical Community," and "The Ideological-Political Orientation of Internationalist Indoctrination of College Students" — testify to the great changes and profound processes that are taking

place in Moldavia under the direct influence of new relationships between the national and international which took shape under conditions of developed socialism and were fixed in the 1977 Constitution of the USSR,

In our opinion the authors were able to summarize all those new trends and directions which are manifesting themselves in the life of the Moldavian people, the working people of Moldavia, and the students of republic higher educational institution.

In the seventh and next-to-last chapter, a group of scientists considers the relationship of the national and international in the development of the socialist community, strengthening the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of proletarian internationalism, the bankruptcy of those who falsify the truth about this process, the growing social class unity of socialist society as a factor in internationalism, and the development, mutual enrichment, and internationalization of the national cultures of the countries of the socialist community. This chapter presents an analysis of historical processes in the countries of the socialist community, the shifts and significant changes that have taken place in them under the direct influence of the historical experience of the CPSU and the USSR peoples, who share their experience and provide unselfish, fraternal help to working people who are building a new society, socialism.

Finally, the eighth chapter, entitled "The National Question in the Nonsocialist World," gives a profound analysis of national relationships and the struggle of ideas in the capitalist world. It treats the processes of exacerbation of internationality contradictions in the contemporary capitalist world and the relationship of the national and the international in the development of liberation movements. The authors show the problems of national rebirth in the developing countries of Asia and Africa.

The collective monograph under review is an important reference work for party, Soviet, trade union, and ideological activists of the republic in carrying on patriotic and international indoctrination and strengthening the friendship and cooperation of the fraternal peoples of the USSR.

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NATIONAL

CONFERENCE DEBATES RELIGION'S ROLE IN CULTURE, HISTORY

Moscow NAUKA I RELIGIYA in Russian No 10, Oct 82 pp 19-22

[Article by M. Danilova and Z. Tazhurizina, candidate in philosophical sciences: "Seminar Notes"]

[Text] In publishing the following report on a seminar which was held at the end of 1981 in the city of Azov (Rostov Oblast), the editors continue a discussion of the place of religion in the history of culture. We asked religion specialists, culture specialists, historians, philosophers, and also writers, journalists, atheism propagandists, and teachers to take part in the discussion of this problem.

The philosophy seminar on the topic of "Culture and Religion" was organized by the "Spiritual Culture of Developed Socialism" Interdepartmental Commission of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the North Caucasian Scientific Center of the Higher School, and the Division of Social Sciences of Rostov University. Concern with this topic is not accidental: the question of the relationship between culture and religion has become especially important today. First of all because as the society of mature socialism develops there is a rapid growth of the thirst of Soviet people for knowledge of the past and of their attraction to the history of spiritual development. Hence the necessity for a profound and comprehensive interpretation of our cultural heritage, particularly that which is connected with religion.

It is also necessary to take account of the fact that the present-day religious ideologists are intensively propagandizing the idea that genuine culture is not only inconceivable outside of religion, but that the latter is its basis. The culture of the Russian state, writes, for example, the Monk-Priest Tikhon, was created "on the single beneficial basis" of the religious ascetic works of Isaak Sirin, Abbot Dorofey, and Ioann Lestvichnik.¹ In a special issue of the ZHURNAL MOSKOVSKOY PATRIARKHII devoted to the 50th anniversary of the restoration of the Patriarchy it is stated that "with its work" the Orthodox Church "made its people the heir of supreme spiritual riches. In the remotest antiquity it laid a solid foundation for the development of culture."²

Unfortunately, in some of the journal's publications, contrary to the historical truth, there is an exaggeration of the role of the church and its leaders,

monasteries, and monks in the development of Russian culture. For example, Yu. Loshchits has seen in the "Oration on the Law and Grace" of Metropolitan Ilarion (11th century) a "test of the truth" and an embodiment of the "maturity and independence of Russian philosophical and historical thought during the Middle Ages," ascribing, in addition, to the Metropolitan himself a feeling for the "necessity for revolutionary changes in the area of the spirit."³ The political and patriotic ideas of the "Oration" are indisputable: Ilarion tried to validate the right of Rus' to independence from the Byzantine Church, but the basic idea of the "Oration" is a religious one: the superiority of the New Testament ("grace") over the Old Testament ("law"), and of Christianity over Judaism. To see in this monument the "maturity" of philosophical and historical thought is, in our opinion, incorrect.

Our journal has already written about the attempts to present the monastic elders of Optinaya Pustynya as progressive figures in Russian culture.⁴ Incidentally, the tendency toward a lack of philosophical fastidiousness which has shown up in certain works of imaginative and popular scientific literature was also subjected to criticism at the seminar in Azov, particularly in the addresses by V. Davidovich (Rostov-na-Donu) and Yu. Pishchik (Moscow).

All of this testifies to how timely it was to have a discussion of the relationship between culture and religion by specialists from the fields of both culture and atheism.

The seminar in Azov was marked by a search for a well-grounded solution of this problem which would take account of the full complexity of the relationships between culture and religion over the millenia. In their deep penetration into the cultural strata of the past the investigators came up against hitherto little known facts, phenomena, and processes which do not always fit into already developed ideas. For this reason, the development of correct criteria for evaluating religion in its relationship to culture is now becoming one of the important tasks facing scholars. Theoretical work on the very concept of "culture" is of great importance for the accomplishment of this task.

During the course of the discussion at the seminar various approaches to some of the fundamental issues came to light. Above all, there was no unanimity in understanding the content and coverage of the concepts of "culture" and "religion." The concept "culture" was used by the speakers in various senses. Some understood culture in an exceedingly wide way--as a "method of making existence possible," "a method of mastering the world," and as a "distinguishing mechanism for separating a given community of people from the external world." Others understood it as the embodiment of the positive results of human activity. A number of participants in the seminar proceeded from the fact that religion was an inseparable element of culture, while in the addresses of others this idea was denied.

A lack of correspondence in the positions of the seminar participants regarding the character of religion's influence on culture also came to light. Most of the speakers defined this influence as an unfavorable one for the development

of culture. But positive appraisals of religion as a factor promoting cultural progress could also be heard. In confirmation of his thesis that religion in pre-socialist formations was and continues to be a "positive element of culture," V. Karpushin (Moscow) cited above all the very fact of religion's long and stable existence in past epochs and its widespread nature in our day. "If religion were a retrograde element," the reporter said, "it would not have existed. How did it last for centuries if it is reactionary?" And although the text of Karpushin's report afforded a characterization of religion as a routine factor which prevented all innovations and increased the stagnation of the historical process, his basic idea was that "to speak about the restraining role of religion means to speak about the restraining role of culture."

V. Karpushin's position was supported by some of the speakers. Some connected the positive character of religion with its "universalism." Religion, in the opinion of P. Mostovoy (Rostov-na-Donu) is "a method, universal for a given society, of achieving a value-filled conception of the external world and one's place in it which brings about the unity of the society's members." V. Sil'vestrov (Moscow) sees the virtue of world religions in the fact that they discovered "a universal attitude toward the world" and a "universal human community."

Without denying the fact that religion is in a definite sense a "general theory"⁵ of the world, it is also necessary, however, to take account of the character of this "universalism" of religion which places the stamp of mystification on the spheres of material and spiritual activity with which it comes into contact, without in any way substituting for them. Yet, according to V. Slepakov (Rostov-na-Donu), secularization in bourgeois society, by destroying the "integralness of human consciousness" which the reporter connected with religion thereby destroys the "cultural integralness of the individual." Thus, it turns out that a departure from religion into the field of the secular, worldly, and non-religious leads to a retreat from culture. The reporter tried to validate his position with references to the fact that religion allegedly promotes the "inheritance of socio-culture" by the individual.

Let us note that nowadays discussions of the "translation" by religion of cultural values have become a commonplace in the works of bourgeois sociologists of religion. At the basis of this view is the conception of religion as being some kind of universal characteristic of man. In fact, religion "translates" rather its own content, that is, dogma, cult actions, and a religious attitude toward the world and, moreover, in an exceedingly unalterable form; but all of the spiritual life of society cannot be reduced to this content.

In addition, it has to be considered that not every activity which is transmitted from generation to generation is beneficial for society and the individual. Not only knowledge, artistic and production skills, humanist traditions, and other factors of progress are inherited and transmitted to subsequent generations, but also prejudices--nationalistic and private property prejudices; methods of suppressing the individual, vices.

Nor, in our view, is there any truth in the assertion that religion strengthens the various aspects of man's cultural activity, thereby fulfilling a useful social function. If we wish to remain in the position of a concrete historical approach to social phenomena, we have to acknowledge that religion really does strengthen the forms of oppression and the ideology of the ruling class which exists in an antagonistic society. It conserves and dogmatizes those forms of culture which have been transformed in accordance with religious requirements.

The point of view that religion is not fruitful for the development of culture was substantiated and concretized in application to history and the present day in the addresses of I. Kryvelev, Yu. Pishchik, O. Antonova, A. Petrova, V. Mezhuyev (Moscow), V. Davidovich, N. Kapustin, Ye. Rezhbek (Rostov-na-Donu), S. Visitayev (Groznyy), B. Nikiforova (Grodno), and other seminar participants.

Comparing religious and atheistic ideals, V. Davidovich convincingly showed that religion does not give the individual the possibility of realizing his creative potentialities. The religious ideal is the immobile ideal of exhausted man. For example, the religious moral ideal as something eternal and immutable stands above nature and affirms the dependence of man upon a supernatural subject, thereby making up for flawed real existence in the "illusory world" with an other worldly existence which is cut off from man. To this day, the reporter said, church publications propagandize saints who possess a collection of qualities which are ideal from the point of view of religion--such qualities as the rejection of the world, martyrdom, humility, and asceticism.

Let us note that in the literature which has been published by the religious organizations of our country in recent years articles have been appearing with increasing frequency in which not only is the fulfillment of the religious prescriptions prescribed for the believer, but also active participation in social life, in the cognition of nature, in the protection of peace and the environment, and so forth. But this is not a merit of religion, but of socialist society which involves the believing laborer in a wide range of life's problems.

In the report by V. Mezhuyev the idea was put forth that in analyzing culture we must not lose sight of such an aspect of it as the struggle against myth understood in the wide sense of the word, and, above all, against social myth. The social myths which exist in antagonistic societies are terrible, in his opinion, in that they "murder history and deprive man of the possibility of going forward." "Culture begins when," the reporter said, "man overcomes social stagnation." As for overcoming religion, it depends in the most direct way upon changes in the forms of human socializing.

One must agree with the reporter's opinion regarding the "rigid type of rationalism" as a variety of mythology--it can help to strengthen religiousness even if it is seemingly directed against religion. One cannot but recall in this connection the criticism by F. Engels of the "dogmatic atheism" of E. Dühring who fought for the abolition of religion through the introduction of strict decrees, which in practice helped it to prolong its existence.⁶

S. Visitayev took a somewhat unusual approach to the question of the relationship between religion and culture. Culture, he said, is primary in relation to religion, and the investigator of this problem has to go from culture to religion, from the content of culture to its false reflection in religion. While taking note of the correctness of the reporter's view of religion as a form of distorted reflection of reality, let us note at the same time that we must not lose sight of the specific nature of the object of the religious reflection--not all of reality is reflected in religion, but those forces which, in Engels' expression, rule over man in his daily life. For this reason, it would be more acceptable, in our opinion, to speak not about a reflection of culture in religion, but about the penetration by religion into various strata of culture.

In this regard the address by G. Zyskin (Kuybyshev) which was devoted to an analysis of the essence of religious anthropomorphism and its place in the system of the spiritual life of society is interesting. The reporter showed that religious anthropomorphism is connected with an illusory and false reflection of the world and, in particular, of man himself, and with the alienation of the human essence. L. Feuerbach had already observed that the more a man invests in God, the less remains in him himself. Defining the essence of this phenomenon, K. Marx wrote: Religion "converts the human essence into a fantastic reality because the human essence does not possess a true reality."⁷ At the same time, the anthropomorphic character of religion admitted of the possibility of a secular--artistic or literary--interpretation of the anthropomorphic divinity.

Let us add that the progress, for example, of philosophical thought was to a substantial extent a result of overcoming religious anthropomorphism and ideas of God as a being who foresees and predetermines the individual. The liberation of philosophy from the power of theology was achieved at first by means of the depersonification of the idea of God in pantheism and deism. The same may be said about progress in the field of art: on the whole, it developed in the direction of an increasingly deep penetration into the spiritual world of man, and of the overcoming of religious anthropomorphism.

The seminar in Azov showed once again how fruitful an analysis is of the concrete facts of the history of culture in order to elucidate the role of religion in the development of culture. Interesting material illustrating the role of theology in the development of medieval natural science was presented by M. Shel'man (Rostov-na-Donu). Showing how the free creative work of the medieval scholar was limited, M. Shel'man observed that "the intellectual of the epoch of the first scientific revolution was compelled to explain himself in the concepts of an accepted disciplinary system." Theology, the reporter said, played the role of the designer of the natural science which was taking form by means of introducing it into the framework of a theological discipline which had fixed the stages of the cognition of nature.

In addition, as it seems to us, the following circumstance has to be considered. The mechanism of continuity is characteristic of any field of culture. Natural science which was developing irrepressibly on the soil of practical needs possessed its own internal mechanisms of transmitting ("translating," as it is

now fashionable to say) its content. It also possesses the possibility of forming a system of conclusions, concepts, and proofs outside of theology. Theologians were compelled to reckon with the pressure of the knowledge of nature, but permitted it only to the extent in which this did not threaten the foundations of dogma.

The analysis of the role of religion in the history of culture was supplemented at the seminar by an examination of an important but little investigated problem--the role of free thinking in the development of culture. It is clear that a serious approach to the problem of the relationship between culture and religion can in no way ignore a current which is opposed to religion--of course, in the former's historically determined form--free thinking. The pivot and the nucleus of free thinking in relation to religion is atheism, the most exact knowledge of religion within a concrete historical epoch which has had itself the goal of overcoming it. Free thinking, itself an organic element of world culture, itself grew on the soil of developing culture and generalized its achievements for knowledge of the world and for a criticism of religion.

Free thinking is one of the engines of culture which is immanent in it. The criticism and destruction of religious dogmas did not mean a break in the continuity of culture. On the contrary, it is free thinking, and not religion which, in our opinion, helped to preserve and transmit to later generations the real cultural values which were continually developing and being enriched, and which freed and purified them, insofar as this was possible, from religious mystifications.

I. Kryvelev emphasized in his report that the main line of the development of culture has been connected precisely with a materialist attitude toward the world, even if it was of a spontaneous character. A scientific analysis of the sacred books, he said, makes it possible to see even in them not only a religious but also an entirely earthly content, and to define their place in the history of culture. Our approach to the Bible is alien to the one-sidedness both of the theologians who try to present it as being divinely inspired and the only religious book, and the zealous dogmatic deniers of religion who see in the Bible only a collection of absurdities. The Bible is a product of the creativity of the people, a folkloric-epic collection in which, besides religious ideas and prescriptions, there is the most diverse and sometimes true-to-life material. We have here historical chronicles, songs, tales of everyday life, lyric poems, philosophic disquisitions on life and death, and ideas in conflict with God. . . .

In all of this, of course, there was a reflection of the level of the spiritual life of ancient peoples, and of the specific nature of their culture over a period of almost 1500 years. This is a mirror of the history of culture, the reporter said. But every historical monument has to be studied critically, with account taken of the degree to which the religious "mirror" distorted real phenomena, the morality which existed in society, and historical perspectives, and of how the principles of dogma (for example, the dogma of the Jewish people having been chosen by God) have been used for reactionary political purposes, be these purposes nationalistic or expansionist.

A. Avksent'yev (Stavropol') spoke of the necessity for a critical analysis of the Koran as a scientific problem whose time has come. The Koran regarded as a literary monument which contains not only religious ideas is an element of the culture of the Arab peoples which throws light on the history of their material, socio-political, and spiritual life.

In a number of reports the sources and essence of free thinking, and also its role in the development of culture were revealed. Regarding theomachy as a phenomenon of social life and culture, A. Shenkao (Rostov-na-Donu) attempted to substantiate the thesis that since ancient times theomachy had reflected a tendency toward innovative thought (if, of course, we are speaking about the destruction of the holy objects of a subjugated people by its conquerors). The struggle "against the gods" within a definite ethnic community is, in essence, a struggle against traditionalism, clan narrowness, and against the idea that the world was engendered by the gods. And this struggle, the reporter emphasized, is inseparably bound up with the knowledge "which has been taken away from God."

At the basis of free thinking is the spiritual health of the working masses and their labor activity which demanded that the connections between things be brought to life and the laws of nature elucidated. Concretizing this idea of his, N. Aydemirov (Stavropol') showed that "mountain culture, beginning with the 10th century, made its way through class oppression, violence, and religion thanks to the workers' realistic views of the world." And although the consciousness of the laboring mountaineers was not free from religion, it is important, basing ourselves on a study of folklore, to find in their worldview moral and aesthetic and spontaneously dialectic and materialist ideas. Ideas of the world as existing forever, regardless of the gods, developed in the consciousness of the people, and tales were composed about folk heroes who through the strength of their minds and active goodness conquered evil demons.

Analyzing the attitude of ancient Greek philosophy to traditional beliefs, G. Drach (Rostov-na-Donu) showed that in criticizing religion the ancient Greek philosophers formed a new and rationalistic system of world-orientation, and a new system of ethical regulatives.

These reports show that there is now an urgent necessity for greater attention to the problem of the interconnections and interaction between free thinking and culture as a whole. Rationalism--a spiritual phenomenon which is opposed to mysticism, irrationalism, and religion--is one of the important manifestations of free thinking.

The question of the place and role of rationalism in the cultural system was thoroughly examined at the seminar by G. Gabinskiy (Orel). In his opinion, rationalism is a fully valuable and spiritually rich current which in its best manifestations is free of dryness and abstractness and the one-sidedness which is frequently ascribed to it. It is an approach to the phenomena of the surrounding world from the position of mind, logic, and common sense. The reporter

emphasized that Marxism was the lawful heir of the preceding rationalism. "If mind is not limited by anything except reality and its laws, and if no limit is set for mind in its coming to know the essence of things, then rationalism appears as a necessary aspect of the dialectical materialist worldview."

From the point of view of rationalism, religion is an uncritical and unreasoning pseudoculture which is the opposite of the free intelligence and at the basis of which there is irrational faith. The proclamation of the harmony between faith and mind by Catholicism, just like the recourse to the data of science by the theologians of other confessions, by no means removes the irrationalism of contemporary religions, for mind in them continues to be subordinated to the authority of God, while the data of science is treated in accordance with mystifying consciousness.⁸

"But what is to be done with Pierre Abelard?" the reporter was asked. "Was he not at the same time a theologian and a rationalist?" Replying to this question, G. Gabinskiy noted that Abelard was not only a theologian, but also--and above all--a philosopher who resisted the authority of the Church from the positions of rationalism, including in the field of ideology, casting doubt upon the doctrine of the absolute truthfulness and uncontradictoriness of the Bible. It is with this that he had an enormous influence on the development of the urban culture of medieval France, while his theological arguments did not go beyond the limits of banal theologizing. Culture, the reporter emphasized, has always been rationally oriented.

The reports by O. Antonova and A. Petrova were a concretization of this thesis. O. Antonova showed convincingly that the Church, making use of music for its own needs, protected it against external, "worldly" incursions, against real life. Presenting the ideas propagandized by them as universal with universal meaning and universally human, the religious ideologists presented cult music as the summit and exhaustive form of musical art. However, living genuine art, even when it is placed at the surface of religion, continues to develop according to its own laws, for "the artist is an artist precisely because he cannot be restricted by a dead scheme. . . . Already in the middle ages Church music contained a tendency toward free thinking which fostered the growth of realistic traditions in musical culture."

Analyzing the requiem which has been traditionally regarded as a genre of cult music, A. Petrova uncovered its genuine, non-cult essence which is connected with the embodiment of the tragic theme of life and death--a theme which has been reinterpreted during the process of the development of culture.

The further development of human culture was placed at the seminar in a direct connection with the formation of humanist ideals. Contrasting the atheistic ideal to the religious one, V. Davidovich emphasized that humanism, atheism, and communism are organically interconnected and interpenetrating concepts. The atheistic ideal is one in its diversity. It combines personal and social ideals. It has absorbed all of the best which has been created by the people in the sphere of spiritual culture; it is a genuinely humanist highly moral

ideal. Atheism is not some negation of religion, its essence is positive and life affirming. Developed in the struggle against religious ideas, the atheistic ideal pursues the humanistic goal of the education of man--the master of his own fate--who is connected with others on the basis of the principle of "man is to man a friend, a comrade, and a brother." An orientation toward the atheistic ideal will undoubtedly stimulate the creation of cultural values.

The problem of the formation of ideals without appealing to the supernatural is very important for socialist society. This was discussed by Ye. Zolotukhin (Rostov-na-Donu). It is not possible to manage in the solution of this problem without the use of traditional terms which were once filled with a religious content, but which now have acquired a completely secular meaning. In this connection, Ye. Zolotukhin considered the phenomena of "sacredness" in application to religion and atheism. It seems to us that the degree of religion's influence on social morality was somewhat exaggerated in her report. It is hardly possible to agree that without the idea of God moral control in contemporary society is allegedly made more difficult. But, of course, it is indisputable that the real means for the formation of a highly moral individual are provided by atheistic ideals.

Unfortunately, our notes on the seminar in Azov have not treated all of the issues which were raised by the reporters (and there were 33 of them), but only those which have permitted the disclosure of the basic tendencies in the approach to the problem of "culture and religion." For this reason, in conclusion we shall limit ourselves to an enumeration of the problems which were touched upon in the reports: the relationship between mythology and religion; the problem of the origin in mythology and ancient Greek philosophy; a study of superstitions from the point of view of their reflection in the phraseology of the Russian language; an analysis of religion as an ethno-confessional phenomenon which arose and evolved according to the "laws of syncretism"; the use of non-religious faith for the spiritualization of knowledge and the strengthening of highly moral convictions; non-traditional forms of religiousness and the crisis of the youth counter-culture in bourgeois society; the specific nature of the use of the method of analogy in philosophy and religion; the character of the use of art by religion; and an analysis of the genre of the riddle in medieval literature in order to clarify its place in the system of the education of the time. This does not exhaust the number of issues posed by the reporters. A comprehensive and profound analysis from materialist positions of all of the problems touched upon at the seminar is a guarantee of a correct understanding of the relationship between religion and culture.

The work of the seminar, in our opinion, was productive. First, the seminar concentrated around the topic of "Culture and Religion" the most diverse group of interesting questions, including non-traditional ones. The very fact that they have been posed is a stimulus for further research in this field. Secondly, it showed that a fruitful solution of the theoretical problems is only possible on the basis of Marxist methodology, while religious and idealist stereotypes could lead the investigator into a blind alley. Thirdly, the polemics which developed at the seminar around the most diverse problems of the topic revealed the "hottest points" which require especially careful attention and serious study.

At the same time, it was revealed at the seminar that the scholars who work on the problems of atheism and culture specialists do not always understand one another. Apparently, this is connected with the fact that to date the study of culture and religion has been autonomous, while the need for their synthetic study long ago became necessary. Further, certain culture specialists incorrectly, in our view, exaggerated the positive role of religion in the development of spiritual culture. It is a pity that there was no report at the seminar at which the problem was studied from the position of Lenin's teaching regarding the two cultures in every national culture. This kind of approach to a study of culture seems very promising. And, finally, the problems of culture, religion, and atheism with respect to the society of mature socialism were not dealt with sufficiently, not to the extent that they merit.

FOOTNOTES

1. ZHURNAL MOSKOVSKOY PATRIARKHII (ZHMP), No 10, 1981, p 21
2. "Fifty Years of the Restoration of the Patriarchy," a special issue of ZHMP, Moscow, 1971, p 45.
3. Yu. Loshchits, "Demanding Truth. On the 1000th Anniversary of Russian Literature," NASH SOVRENNIK, No 1, 1982, p 166.
4. NAUKA I RELIGIYA, Nos 4-6, 1981.
5. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," Vol 1, p 414.
6. Ibid., Vol 20, p 330.
7. Ibid., Vol 1, p 414.
8. The irrational essence of modern theological teachings has been thoroughly revealed in the works of G. A. Gabinskiy: "Theology and Miracle. A Critique of Theological Conceptions," Moscow, 1978; "A Critique of Christian Apologetics," Moscow, 1967.

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NATIONAL

NEW SOVIET BOOK FAILS TO UNDERSTAND 'NATIONAL COMMUNISM'

Moscow NAUCHNYY KOMMUNIZM in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 82 pp 153-156

[Review by M. Kh. Sarukshin, doctor of philosophical sciences and professor, and T. N. Torbyak, candidate of philosophical sciences and docent of book "Kritika antikommunizma v prepodavanii obshchestvennykh nauk: Metodologiya i metodika" [The Critique of Anticommunism in the Teaching of the Social Sciences: Methodology and Methods" by Ye. L. Bogina and N. V. Shcherban', Izd-vo Moskovskogo universiteta, Moscow, 1981, 208 pages]

[Text] Under the conditions of the sharp ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism, one of the urgent tasks of the Soviet higher school consists of teaching the student body to examine the ideological situation and the present antagonism of ideas from Marxist-Leninist positions; to be good at recognizing and logically unmasking hostile anti-communist and anti-Soviet views and political actions; and to conduct an uncompromising and militant struggle against all varieties of bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideologies. An exceptionally important place in the solution of this task belongs to the critique of anti-communist ideology and policy during the teaching of the social sciences. The work being reviewed, which is a problem-solving systematic textbook for social science teachers, is devoted to the methodological and method questions of this critique.

The goal of Ye. L. Bogina's and N. V. Shcherban's book, as the authors have formulated it, consists of "arming instructors with the fundamental principles for waging the ideological struggle and, using concrete examples, demonstrating their application during the teaching of the social sciences" (p.4). One must point out that this goal is realized with sufficient success. To a certain extent, the book fills the gap which exists in methodical and educational literature. In our opinion, it will serve to raise the level of critiquing anti-communist ideology and policy in VUZ social science courses.

The book's value consists primarily of the fact that it reveals a Leninist methodology for critiquing bourgeois ideology. It is necessary to mention that the methodological aspects in criticizing the ideological enemies of scientific communism are still a relatively weak spot in the work with students. Therefore, some VUZ graduates, when they encounter the latest concepts and argumentations of bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideologists, find themselves insufficiently prepared to unmask their social essence and direction

and theoretical bankruptcy because they have poorly mastered the scientific methodology of criticism. In this regard, the book's statement on the fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist teachings on ideology, the description of the party apparatus which pertains to the sphere of the ideological struggle, and the accurate explanation of the Leninist principles of this struggle are undoubtedly useful and justified.

The book will acquaint the reader with the basic directions in modern bourgeois, reformist and revisionist ideology. In it, the forms, methods and systems, which are used by socialism's enemies in the struggle against it, are demonstrated; and the bankruptcy of anticommunist concepts, their class hostility to the workers, and their unscientific nature are revealed. The concrete factual material, which is cited in the book, will permit VUZ instructors to critique anticommunist ideology and policy more topically, more conclusively and more convincingly during their training classes with the students.

It is known that in order to successfully combat an enemy, it is necessary not only to know him well but also to be able to struggle against him. In congress decisions and in Central Committee plenum decrees, our party has developed a program for ideological work under modern conditions and has outlined a way to improve the struggle against bourgeois ideology. A detailed treatment of ways, forms, and methods to increase the effectiveness of the ideological offensive against bourgeois ideology has been given in the monograph.

The book's value consists of the fact that it summarizes and systematizes the existing literature (works by Soviet and foreign Marxists) on questions pertaining to the ideological antagonism between socialism and capitalism, helping social science instructors to orient themselves better in it and to use it the best way possible during training classes.

The book is the summation of many years of experience in teaching social disciplines in the country's VUZ, especially the experience of teaching in Moscow University's Institute for Improving the Qualifications of Social Science Instructors. The importance of the recommendations, which are given by the authors for critiquing anticommunist ideology in the subjects of educational courses on CPSU history, philosophy, political economics and scientific communism, come from this. Method questions run through the entire book but an especially large place is allotted to them in the fourth and fifth chapters.

The monograph has a clear internal structure, and all its parts are inter-related and provide a complete picture of the distinctive features in the present ideological struggle of socialism against capitalism. It seems that the book can also serve as a good reading textbook in all the country's VUZ for the special courses on critiquing bourgeois ideology and anticommunism, the urgent requirement for which is dictated by the present situation and proceeds from the instructions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the CPSU Central Committee decree "On Further Improving Ideological, Political and Indoctrinational Work".

The generally interesting work by Ye. L. Bogina and N. V. Shcherban' is also not devoid of a number of omissions and shortcomings. We will point out several of them. Considering the nature of the monograph being reviewed, we think that it should have demonstrated continuity in the criticism of anti-communism during the teaching of all social sciences. True, the authors give recommendations on how to use the material to criticize bourgeois and petty bourgeois concepts in various subjects of the social science courses. However, this can not be recognized as a solution to the problem of continuity in teaching in this respect.

The critical analysis of anti-Marxist concepts, which is conducted in the work, suffers at times from fragmentariness. It is clear that a sample methodical analysis of the criticism of one or several anticommunist concepts considering the distinctive features of the student audience and also the type of class (lecture or seminar) would have been of considerable interest to social science instructors.

The authors did not express their opinion on such a debatable question, which is a burning one for the instructors, as the place of criticism of anticommunist concepts in the structure of lectures and seminar classes: Is it advisable to single out the criticism material as an independent question or is it more methodologically justified to use it during a positive statement of the educational material?

The authors correctly write that it is important to consider the distinctive features of science and the type of VUZ in the criticism of the different directions of the anti-Marxist ideological currents. However, it is hardly possible to agree with this statement: "The instructor teaches pedagogical VUZ students to unmask the replacement of social criteria by psychological ones. In technical VUZ, criticism of the so-called "technological determinism", which replaces social criteria with technical ones, is important. Students of agricultural and biological VUZ must be able to unmask the absolutization of biological criteria, etc." (p 126). In our opinion, the consideration of the type of VUZ requires the differentiation and selection of specific anticommunist concepts which emerge as the first and foremost object of criticism in this or that student audience.

Individual propositions, which are put forward by the authors, evoke objections. Thus, in our opinion, the social basis for the views of the utopian socialists and the Russian revolutionary democrats is defined incorrectly on page 14. The statement that "the slogans 'sovereignty', 'federalism', and 'pluralism' are an attempt to lead the masses away from internationalism, to separate the workers according to national signs...." (p 47), requires a more precise definition. It would be possible to agree with the last conclusion if only the slogan "pluralism" conforming to the communist movement and socialist cooperation was in mind.

A number of inaccurate statements are contained in paragraph 3 of Chapter 4. For example, the social roots of the concepts of "national communism" are reduced to national and racial conflicts within the capitalist system which the bourgeoisie are trying to turn against socialism (cf. p 144). In fact

these roots are extremely deeper. The regional restrictions -- of Euro-communism" to Europe, of Beijing hegemonism to Asia, Zionism to the Near East, and "national socialism" to Latin America are artificial (cf. *ibid.*).

In our opinion the use of the concept "national communisms" instead of the concepts "national-communism" and "national communism" is unsuccessful when describing openly reactionary anticommunist nationalistic concepts. The purely mechanical combination of the ideology of Zionism and Maoism with the bourgeois concepts of "national communism" on only the basis that both are reactionary and nationalistic (cf. pp 143-144) is a disappointing misunderstanding. There are other unfortunate statements in this section also. For example: "The nationalists are trying to 'Russify' Leninism...." (p 145).

In conclusion, we will point out that the shortcomings, which have been detected, do not change the overall positive rating of the work being reviewed. It is notable for its high professional level and is a timely and useful textbook for social science instructors.

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8802

CSO: 1800/181

NATIONAL

RUSSIFICATION BY SOVIET CINEMA DENIED

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Oct 82 p 3

[Article by Aleksandr Karaganov, secretary of the Board of Directors of the USSR Cinematographers Union: "Similarities and Differences — Soviet Multinational Film"]

[Excerpts] After the victorious Great October Revolution, over the vast spaces of Russia for the first time in history there arose, as a voluntary alliance of equals, a multinational community of peoples in which respect for the traditions and distinctive features of the national cultures, mutual understanding, and cooperation were raised to the level of state policy.

The fundamentally new development of Soviet culture, which includes cinematography, is linked to many factors and circumstances in history, including the special role of Russia in the life of the multinational family of USSR peoples. Of course, the Russian proletariat was the leading force of the socialist revolution. Of course, the culture of Pushkin, Tolstoy, Gogol', Dostoyevskiy, Glinka, and Chaykovskiy had already become significant throughout the world in the 19th Century. The influence of such a mighty culture on the development of the other peoples who were joined together into the Soviet Union 50 years ago is entirely understandable and explainable. But this influence has nothing in common with the forcible Russification of foreign-speaking peoples which was followed by Tsarism and which our ideological enemies ascribe to Soviet power. This influence does not spread by command and order from above; it is a natural element in the life of the national cultures under conditions of equality, motivated by spiritual and esthetic needs. It does not hinder, but rather helps the development of the cultural traditions of each of the socialist nations. Operating in this direction we have not only the revolutionary internationalism of Soviet cultural policy, but also what we call the "Pushkin principle" of Russian culture, a Pushkin-like sensitivity to the style and spirit of other cultures, a Pushkin-like ability to preserve their unique charm and original beauty in all translations and other uses. Contempt for national arrogance and isolationism and internationalist openness to meet the peoples of other nationalities are organic features of the truly Russian working person, who is free from chauvinism and nationalism. They are characteristic of that part of Russian culture which is democratic and humanistic. And this part is the summit of Russian culture. It is also the living heritage which Soviet culture takes, continues, and elaborates.

When speaking of the development of the cinematography of the fraternal republics we understand that each of them has its own unresolved problems, difficulties, and shortcomings. In Moldavia, Tadjikistan, and certain other republics, for example, there is a shortage of good scenarios and mediocre ones are often used in order to fulfill the plan, which is inevitably reflected in the quality of the films.

The creators of certain films coming out in the republics are carried away by the ornamental aspects of national style, especially in showing the past. Sometimes this leads to bombastic work, superficial stylization, and making the essential features of the screen action unclear.

On the other hand, some cinematographers, instead of pushing the "national form," cover up the national principle with stylistic exercises that make the film close to "general European standards." Once again this violates the organic characteristics of art. Once again it is an obstacle in the way of the truth.

My purpose in mentioning the extremes is not to seek the golden mean. What we are looking for is by no means located halfway between and affection for old, exotic national characteristics and an impersonal description of life deprived of its national and social uniqueness. What we are looking for is the movement of art, reflecting the movement of life, social convergence, and mutual enrichment of the unique national cultures.

National traditions in cinematography are being enriched before our eyes. This includes the area of subject matter. It is natural and proper, and entirely corresponds to the internationalist nature of Soviet film art, that Uzbek directors Malik Kayumov, Latif Fayziyev, and Ali Khamrayev have now turned to the subject of Afghanistan. The appearance of documentary films about the construction of the Baikal Amur Mainline in film studios in the Ukraine and Georgia is equally natural. Unfortunately, the cinematographers of the fraternal republics still do not go beyond the boundaries of their republics, to events in the country and the world, that often.

In some republics young people still are rarely advanced to independent work, and during the training of new masters (for example, in the film division of the Kiev Theater Institute) the demands made of them are not as complex and rigorous as those that have long been traditional at the Moscow All-Union State Institute of Cinematography.

Even with all the shortcomings that were mentioned here and those that were not, and with the abundance of unsolved problems, still the truly remarkable development of cinematography in the 15 fraternal republics is an indisputable reality of world film making and another triumph of our party's nationality policy. The foundation of this development — as a subject for depiction and as a tower from which to view the reality of the complex contemporary world — has been and remains the life of the peoples who are building communism, the peoples who freely joined together 60 years ago in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,

NATIONAL

ECONOMIC RESOURCES DEEMED NECESSARY FOR THEATER SURVIVAL

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Oct 82 p 4

[Article by Yelizaveta Ogon'kova: "Algebra and Harmony"]

[Text] The stage--there is something soaring, aspiring upward in the sound of that word. . . . And we still expect from the stage a bright burning of "stars" which do not always "shine" for everybody because "their light" does not often reach remote cities and villages. . . .

Our stage has Alla Pugacheva and Iosif Kobzon, Gennadiy Khazanov and Lev Leshchenko, and there also are Aleksandr Kovazhenkov, Valeriy Chemagin, Viktor Shevtsov and Aleksey Zorin, Yevgeniy Kutzentov and Valentina Fedorova, and hundreds of other unknown artists who are not imprinted on our capitol theater posters, but whose names could be inscribed on the mud-splattered sides of the numerous symphony hall buses which in heat and in cold wheel over endless roads and roadless streets, and whose modest service to art shines forth with the warm lights of rural clubs and houses of culture lost in the Russian depths. The word "tour" wafts the air of flowers and international railroad cars. In the oblast symphony halls they are shy about this word and they usually go away on "trips."

Almost all of the problems of the stage have been discussed more than once already on the most diverse levels. You will hardly find a person now who would doubt that this genre which is loved by the people is a necessity. And if you look upon the stage as a major phenomenon of the time, as a part of national culture, then it long ago became a matter of importance.

In view of the large role of stage art in the education of the masses and of its very extensive penetration into the sphere of the formation of a social worldview, it is impossible not to be concerned about its future development. There are a large number of unsolved problems, including economic ones.

Yes, it has long been time to consider the stage! This is just the very case in which harmony has to be verified by algebra. Today the stage in many respects determines the economy of the country's cultural life. It provides the fund of circulating capital which is lacking and needed for the maintenance of leading creative collectives. In fact, for a symphony hall to maintain its symphony orchestra and a Russian chorus it has to have 240,000 rubles of annual profit. And where is this to be gotten? You have to be cunning here, inventive. . . .

And again figures, again economics. It is no secret that today's stage concert has turned into a kind of bookkeeping unit: on the one hand, the actors' norms (if only they do not overfulfill them!), and, on the other, statistics for the reports, and over all of this--"net profit"--the age-old "philosopher's stone" of stage thinkers. Yes, the question of "net profits" has always been a vital, sharp, and burning one. For example: an oblast philharmonic has gotten the idea of expanding the work on the aesthetic education of the younger generation, and has thought up new forms for propagandizing musical art. It shared its plans with the city organizations and received support. And the city is hung with colorful posters inviting adolescents to theatricalized balls at the philharmonic's concert hall. A stage presentation was put on with the group's own creative and artistic forces, and the hall was set up for it--some things were bought, and some things were made there. The master of ceremonies was at the same time the sound director, the dancer--the lighting man, the circus group performers--artists, prop men, and costumers, and the business manager--the ticket taker. In a word, everybody worked. And then they sat down and totalled things up: a good and fine initiative in the city, a real necessity, but the trouble is that there was a loss of 1,000 rubles and no "net profits" at all!

The economics of the stage touches upon the most diverse aspects of artistic activity, and the personal life of the artist has the most direct relationship to this. "The whole trouble is that there is no scientific organization of labor at all on the stage," Lev Leshchenko says. "You cannot manage without economics here. Everybody knows, for example, that in planning a new production, theaters immediately set down an estimate of production expenditures. And this is clear--a play cannot be put on without money. We have nothing like this. An actor's creative searches are not set down anywhere. He wants to 'grow,' but how? It is not so simple to do an interesting program on the stage. Hundreds of problems arise. Where are you to get an ensemble which is ready to go through an unpaid rehearsal period? Where do you get the director? Who will pay for the writers' work? Where do you get the lighting and sound equipment? Who will make the costumes and the set designs? In a word, who would want to finance and put out the program of a single stage actor?"

All of this disturbs the popular and entirely "successful" actor. All of these questions arise like an impregnable fortress before the artists of the oblast symphony hall where the possibilities for creative growth are practically reduced to zero on account of the lack of the material base and of pedagogical cadres. What is to be done by those thousands of artists of small forms who are scattered over the country and who are not covered today by the "stage population" census? The "light" genre artist does not have an easy life: he himself gets his equipment and entourage, and his kindergarten and housing authorizations, he himself looks for a costume sewing workshop, gets the artist and the director for the new number, and "persuades" an eminent writer to do a new satirical piece. And if he is, for example, a clown with dogs, all of these cares are increased depending upon the quantity of the animal world which rooms with him in a hotel. And this is also economics. These are the "trifles of life" which not everybody is up to. The stage does not have its own creative association which could

be a coordinating center for this type of art with all of the forms of work characteristic of a creative union. The stage actor does not have his own House!

The training of specialists is extremely important today. There are not enough teaching cadres which possess a wide range of the principles of stage performance. New schools and new departments are being opened, and this again is work for economists. Here is an "individual instance": located between Moscow and Leningrad, the Kalinin Music School has been successfully training specialists for its oblast for many years now. But in this same oblast another school is being opened--in Rzhev. Is this appropriate? In the Russian Federation alone there are 118 music schools; true, 23 of them have opened special stage divisions, including 4 in Moscow and Moscow oblast. Well, they have been opened, but how are things going for them? Any kind of teaching requires material support--there are no rooms for classes, sound equipment, musical instruments, properties; it has to be admitted that stage instruction is not yet standing sufficiently strongly on its feet.

And one more thing. Why, after all, do "stars" become extinguished rapidly? The number of stars in the sky cannot be planned--economists here are powerless; but the light which arises on the stage as a result of competitions can be maintained. Recently many new names have appeared on the capitol's posters--our numerous competitions of the creative youth have again "uncovered" our boundless artistic reserves. No, there is no end to "star formation" on our stage horizon. The theatrical program "At the First Date" (Director--D. Krylov) which was performed on the stage of the State Central Concert Hall can serve as a vivid example of this. It can be said without exaggeration that this was a big holiday for our stage youth. It is up to the directors of the concert organizations. Whereas in the theater several actors "in a row" are able to play a single role, on the stage duplicates are excluded. The individuality of the artist is the essence of concert output.

The stage of the 1980's requires a scientific approach. Today its gains are obvious--both artistic and social. It needs a single administrative center which will coordinate the work of stage artists in the entire country.

A lack of the necessary control, especially in the localities, the multiple stages in getting through operations documents, and anarchy in planning--all of this creates difficulties for the work of those who have devoted themselves to the difficult art of the stage. In Moscow alone the country's tour life is planned by several unconnected organizations at the same time; for this reason, when it is necessary to find a famous artist to solve an urgent problem, it turns out that he is in five different cities on the same day!

Algebra does not get in the way of harmony if it is the work not only of completely competent specialists, but, above all, of people who are in love with the Stage and who love the Artist. Long ago such concepts as "Soviet theatrical art" and "Soviet musical culture" took form. So let us speak with respect about Soviet stage art as an important phenomenon of social life, art, which must always be marked by a clear ideological thrust, a clarity of artistic conceptions,

and a purity of form. Let us recall a bit more frequently such a simple and capacious word as "talent," let us be more strict in giving out compliments, and be more generous in those places where people give themselves to the point of exhaustion and where there is the incinerating fire of the soul. . . .

2959

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REGIONAL

ORGANIZATION, INCENTIVES IN AGRICULTURE DISCUSSED

Kiev SIL'S'KI VISTI in Ukrainian 27, 28, 29 Aug 82 pp 2-3

[Article by O. Zakharchenko, secretary, Nikolayev Oblast Committee, Ukrainian Communist Party: "Agricultural Agreement"]

[Text] The May (1982) CC CPSU Plenum stressed the need to apply such forms of organization and work incentives which would assure a close connection between wages and the final results of the agricultural year. These requirements are best met by the brigade contract and also team work with an agreement-premium production payment.

This specific form of agricultural work organization initiated by the oblast party committee spread in Nikolayev Oblast. On July 14, SIL'S'KI VISTI published discussion materials "Criteria - Final Result" which dealt with the achievements and perspectives in the development of an agricultural agreement. Because of growing reader interest in this topic, the paper continues the publication of subject matter on this issue.

1. Master in the Field -- A Non-Directive Detachment

Although weather conditions this year seemed very complex, machine operators at kolkhoz "Peremoha" again achieved a good harvest: each hectare of spring grain crops yielded on the average more than 32 quintals grain. This success is not accidental. In conditions of a drying seaside zone the kolkhoz collective for several years now steadily achieves high yields in all agricultural crops. A marked contribution to this success is provided by the purposeful work of the party organization which directs communists and all workers continuously towards the search for and introduction of scientific news and expert products. Flat bottom plow soil tillage was utilized here first with wide sweep units and dry ammonia fertilizing. The communists put a special amount of effort into the introduction of a non-directive form of work organization.

I visited this kolkhoz at the peak of the harvesting season. Both harvesting complexes, formed on the basis of agreement mechanized detachments, worked together harmoniously. The farming skill which characterizes non-directive farmers was felt in everything. As soon as any combine was out of order, all machine operators on the free shift would rush to help out. When rain moistened the sheaves, combine operators V.V. Knysh, V.V. Krykunov and V.O. Sokura quickly exchanged the pick up attachments for reapers and continued mowing grain crops drying rapidly uncut.

We remember that just six years ago tractor brigades on these fields were late with plowing, sowing and harvesting. A hectare of grain crops at the time did not even yield 25 quintals. Today all operations fulfilled by two non-directive detachments with twelve machine operators in each (almost twice less than in brigades) are of high quality and within better agrotechnological dates.

"The agreement cultivates a farmer's attitude," states kolkhoz manager Yu. M. Prokopenko. Detachments are now assigned only the plan for output production and expenditure limits. The collective decides how to go about fulfilling the plan, consulting specialists about the most effective agricultural measures and preparing technological charts jointly. Earlier the servicing personnel could not be counted on the fingers of two hands. Today, hoping to increase work productivity, machine operators reviewed state schedules themselves, eliminating water carriers, loaders and refuelers.

"In these new conditions our collective is more youthful," continues the manager's thoughts mechanized detachment leader L.Ya. Shl'omin. "The average machine operator age is 30. What encourages the young people to join our ranks? Good earnings? Not only that. The right to be a full-fledged master of the land, a wide area for creativity, initiative -- these are very attractive to young people."

I could cite innumerable similar expressions in favor of brigade and team contracts which are an important reserve in increasing crop yield, work productivity, the development of worker social activity fostering in them a skilled farmer's approach to the soil. Yet, even now skeptical remarks may be heard about the agricultural agreement -- that its possibilities and meaning are exaggerated. No, they are not exaggerated. It is difficult to find a similar lever which would provide such an important economic and educational effect without additional material losses.

Brigade contract efficiency is based on a close relationship between the machine operator's wages and the final collective work results. This form of cost accounting provides for a successful combination of private and collective material interests. The combination is, in fact, real, visible and understandable to each worker.

In tractor brigades and mechanized detachments, the machine operator is equally interested in assuring high earnings. The difference is in the paths he takes to achieve the given goal.

It would appear that an orderly system of material incentives has now been developed in plant growing. On one hand, it provides for machine operator interest in final work results through additional production payments and premiums, on the other hand, payment for the work extent fulfilled allows for work intensity stimulation, decreasing work dates and accurate consideration of everyone's collective result contribution. But in the practical realization of this material incentive system it appears that these stimuli act in different directions, dividing the psychology of machine operators who sometimes find it difficult to withstand the possibility of additional earnings thanks to a few spare hectares. Because of this pursuit of output work quality suffers and it is not easy to disclose this waste in agriculture. For example, in questioning 167 managers and specialists in Domanivskiy and Bashtanskiy Rayons, 118 men or 70.6 percent consider that it is not always possible to show waste in the work of machine operators because of laborious controls, the large sizes of production subsections and insufficient transport.

The fact remains that it is almost impossible to review the work quality of each unit within all parameters. It is difficult to remove waste through administrative methods of control in job payment work.

Under brigade contract individual output does not determine the amount of earnings. Advance payment is credited at the time, mostly according to firm rates. Each machine operator is able to increase his earnings only one way -- obtain a higher yield and accordingly more additional payments and production premiums. Therefore, everyone is always materially interested to do everything possible so that the final result is higher. Both the current (advance) and additional payment are dependent on the yield.

This form of work organization is supported in different ways by the oblast committee which encourages its mass acceptance and confirmation. Leading experience is studied, generalized and recommended for introduction. We do know where to learn. For more than ten years a number of oblast farms have successfully utilized the brigade contract. Each collective (mechanized detachment) consists of 15-25 machine operators with multiple capabilities, a chief adjuster and a counter-refueller. The collective is provided with essential technology for plowing 2500-3000 hectares in crop rotation. The chief goal of the collective is to grow and harvest agricultural crops. All other mechanized operations not connected with agriculture such as transport, construction work and farm servicing are performed by specialized subsections, organizationally separated from the mechanized teams.

Production relations between detachment collective and the farm are generally regulated by an agreement, founded on the principles of cost accounting. The collective's cost accounting goals are determined based on average indices for five previous years. Agrotechnological measures are determined for growing agricultural crops, as well

as mechanization level, expenditures in fuel, seed, fertilizer and poison chemicals. Based on technologic charts a tariff fund is established for wages to be paid for each crop. Increased by 25 percent, this agreement-premium system fund provides payment for production. Detachment member production account also includes the time advance determined by the sum of expenditures for work payment anticipated in technological charts. The collective's harvest payment sum is determined at the end of the year according to production rates from which the advance throughout the year is excluded. Funds remaining are divided among machine operators calculated per ruble of advance obtained.

The introduction of brigade contract in agriculture yields a great economic effect. This is convincingly evident in results achieved by farms in Bashtanskiy Rayon, where the progressive form of work organization was introduced ten years ago. In forming these collectives an organizational personnel re-distribution occurred. Of 1,405 kolkhoz and sovkhoz machine operators, 835 were included in mechanized detachments. Others, depending on specialization, were assigned to brigades which service farms and perform transport duties. As a result each machine operator in a mechanized detachment began tilling a land area twice larger than before.

Consequently, the agricultural crop yield in the Bashtanskiy Rayon farms has increased visibly. Returns from the grain hectare increased by 4.4 quintals, sugar beet and feed crop yield increased by 133 and 162 percent respectively.

The increase in indices characterizing the economic effectiveness of agricultural output production in Bashtanskiy Rayon is considerably higher than in neighboring Berezneguvatskiy, Kazankivskiy and Novobugskiy Rayons where contract collectives have not spread widely yet. In the past ten years the gross average annual output production per worker in Bashtanskiy Rayon increased by 178 percent, in Kazankivskiy, Novobugskiy, Berezneguvatskiy Rayons by 151, 146 and 141 percent respectively.

Last year in sovkhozes of the Nikolaevskiy meat-dairy trust of 52 mechanized collectives 8 worked on contract. Under the same conditions non-directive mechanized detachments showed great advantages. Gross production per one collective member was 1.9 times more and the level of profitableness of agricultural production amounted to 110 percent, whereas in collectives with piece rate payment only 69.7 percent. If the production effectiveness of all sovkhoz machine operator collectives was the same as in non-directive, an additional 3.7 million rubles income would be received in the trust. In a comparative analysis similar data can be obtained from practically all rayons.

2. Plus Social-Psychological Reserves

The economic gain in "non-directives" is obvious but the educational effect is equally important. Under the new form of work organization

favorable conditions are created for educating, strengthening in each machine operator a feeling of being master of the land, a sense of responsibility for everything that occurs in the collective. Thus, one of the party's program goals -- expansion of worker participation in production management, is being resolved in practical, everyday deeds.

In agriculture, where people deal with such a unique and valuable production means as land, fostering of responsibility and worker initiative are especially important. Success in agriculture requires not only practical knowledge, but also a special feeling for it.

By approving collective responsibility for work results, the agricultural agreement becomes an active means of improving moral relations between collective members. In a non-directive detachment there is an opportunity to get to know the personal qualities of each member better, to create better conditions for the development of individual creativity.

Agreeing to work under a brigade contract, each machine operator accepts material and moral responsibility before his comrades for the collective earnings, that is, the harvest fate, for his personal contribution to the common results. Mutual aid, initiative and creativity develop on the basis of a collective material interest. If under the task payment system advancing violations of worker discipline and disregard of collective interests occurred fairly often, when contracting was introduced the work attitude of the same machine operators improved for the better, improving also the collective's psychological micro-climate.

These changes are felt by the machine operators themselves. Sociological studies conducted in brigade contract collectives in Bashtanskiy Rayon kolkhozes and sovkhozes provide convincing testimony that the new form of work organization and payment promote the development of important collective social-psychological qualities. Of 502 machine operators interviewed, 414 stated that the collective became more harmonious as a result of the agricultural agreement, 428 felt that work and technological discipline increased under the new system. Of those interviewed, 84.7 percent are convinced that under the new conditions experienced machine operators provide more help to young workers in their profession.

Most of the managers and specialists questioned (between 57.5 and 74.2 percent) note the marked improvement of the micro-climate in contract collectives. On some farms, however, managers did not record any noticeable changes in improved work discipline and organization level under the new method. Between 13.2 to 26.3 percent of those questioned reached that conclusion. Finally, the study also showed that in some collectives the brigade contract had even an adverse effect on a number of indices. The fact is that agreement introduction does not go smoothly in all areas. Essential prepara-

tion work has not been done everywhere, not all farm managers and specialists are familiar with specific activity under the new conditions. For example, 55 percent of those interviewed reached the conclusion that errors were permitted in the process of introducing the brigade contract. On some farms they were put aside, on others specialist inertia finally led to traditional forms of organization and work payment.

This shows that the agreement paths are not scattered with roses. To achieve its effectiveness is not an easy matter. But the fact remains that on most farms the introduction of the brigade contract provides an important economic and educational effect.

It is significant that with the change in the system of material incentives and criteria which determine earnings, the attitude of machine operators towards operations fulfilled and their final work results changes noticeably also. This shows up clearly in an analysis of questionnaire data from managers and specialists in a number of rayons. On farms where payment by results has been retained, the chief reason for waste, according to those questioned, is worker desire to exceed output norm at whatever cost in order to assure himself of higher earnings. In collectives which utilize the contract, poor quality work also occurs. But there is considerably less waste under the new conditions. For each of approximately three instances of agrotechnology violations in collectives with individual piece payment, there is only one such case in collectives with a brigade contract. In addition, the reasons for violations are quite different. Only 18.6 percent note unscrupulous work attitude. Mostly waste is explained by insufficient experience and training.

When speaking of organization and activity results in non-directive mechanized detachments, we always quote the number of machine operators freed for other work, and the sharp increase in work productivity. What are the contributing factors? People are not overloaded and working time is not extended unduly. Even more, a number of contract collectives changed over to two-shift work, organizing the working day.

The effectiveness rises thanks to high work discipline and personnel stability. Mechanized detachments in kolkhozes "Komunist" and "Leninskiy Shlyakh" in Bashtanskiy Rayon, "Peremoha" and imeni Engels in Berezanskiy, for example, have completely liquidated personnel turn-over. People leave collectives only for two reasons: they are retiring or moving to another area.

As a rule, there is complete machine operator interchangeability. For example, each of the 16 members of mechanized detachment No. 1 at the kolkhoz "Vohni Kommunizmu" in Bashtanskiy Rayon is familiar with several related functions, knows how to operate all types of tractors and combines in the subsection.

Technical creativity has become widespread under the new conditions. Trying to assure high final results machine operators strive for better and more effective utilization of land and technology. In non-directive mechanized teams a strong rationalizer movement has been started directed towards mass application of wide-sweep units. Now on farms in Bashtanskiy Rayon these units are used on most jobs. This raises the tractor power use coefficient, decreases work dates, and saves funds and fuel. The yearly economic effect from utilizing wide-sweep units on rayon farms only for applying ammonia water, herbicides, sowing and between row crop tilling is above 100,000 rubles.

The high level of mechanized detachment work productivity is also the result of the quickly rising skill of new team members. Instruction has reached a new level. The well-being of each worker and the collective in general is dependent on the quick making of the young machine operator.

In contract collectives managers are elected at a general meeting and are later approved by kolkhoz administration and sovkhoz management. Therefore, most machine detachment heads are well known, authoritative collective leaders. This approach allows for the promotion of talented organizers from the lower ranks as required by V.I. Lenin. Sociologists have often questioned machine operators about the personal qualities of managers. The results show that the people's level of satisfaction with the style of their activity in non-directive collectives is several times higher than among those who work according to individual job payment.

The oblast has produced such wonderful mechanized detachment leaders as Hero of Socialist Work V.M. Makhno, USSR State Premium Winner O.H. Shevchenko, S.O. Svyrsa, I.T. Ryabyy, L.Ya. Shl'omin and O.O. Horburov. Quite a few of these and other comrades completed correspondence courses in technical schools and institutes.

The May (1982) CC CPSU Plenum and USSR Soviet of Ministers decision "On measures to strengthen the material interest of rural workers in increasing output production and raising its quality" opened new horizons for the development of an agricultural agreement. Now farm managers have the right to determine stable prices and rates of additional payment to rural workers on a collective contract, using natural payment for encouragement. Party documents summarizing a great deal of experience point towards a mass utilization of the progressive form of work organization and payment.

Oblast party, soviet and agricultural organs are doing considerable work in improving and spreading the brigade contract. The party oblast committee office approved a decision to introduce the progressive form of work organization and payment in oblast kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Each year at oblast meetings of mechanized detachment leaders work results are summarized and tasks are set for the future.

An oblast council of mechanized detachment leaders has been created to coordinate collective efforts to improve work organization and pay based on a study of leading experience. Using the example of leading detachments in Bashtanskiy, Domanivskiy and Zhovtnevoy Rayons, seminars were held for rayon committee first secretaries, kolkhoz and sovkhoz managers and specialists.

Under the direction of oblast council of mechanized detachments leaders, recommendations were prepared and introduced to all farm managers on work organization and payment in collectives with agreement-premium pay and time advances. After study, chief specialists from rayon agricultural administrations and kolkhozes and sovkhozes took exams on their knowledge of work specifics with worker subsections changed over to contract.

Special attention is given to strengthening party influence in them. The goal is to create a party or party-komsomol group in each mechanized detachment. First agreement experience shows that only under those circumstances can a high economic and educational effect be achieved. If in the beginning period of the change-over to the new conditions of work organization and pay there were only 10 groups among machine operator collectives in Bashtanskiy Rayon, today there are 31. Forms of mass political work and conditions for socialist competition were also reviewed with consideration of the new requirements. Rayon committees are also concerned with contract work. Each year the office analyzes the final results achieved, and approves changes in collective personnel.

A few years ago an all-union seminar took place in Nikolaev dealing with problems of improving work organization forms in agriculture; the Collegium of the USSR Ministry of Agriculture, after review of team and brigade contracts in kolkhozes and sovkhozes in Nikolaev area and in Milerovskiy Rayon, Rostov Oblast, recommended the general application of this experience.

3. Problems and Prospects

Agricultural agreement advantages cannot be denied. Yet, how do we explain its slow introduction? Also, the fact that the increased interest in the progressive work organization and payment sometimes falters? Prior to answering these questions we must note that on farms in Nikolaev area this process is not particularly stable either. The largest number of machine operator collectives on contract existed in 1976. At the time 865 mechanized detachments tilled a million and a half hectares or 87 percent of all arable land. In 1981 there were 318 mechanized detachments. Today there are 503 teams with 7.5 thousand machine operators. They till 978.5 thousand hectares or 58 percent of kolkhoz and sovkhoz arable land.

Why is there a problem? Several reasons can be given. First of all, for a long time brigade contract introduction retained a sort of

amateurish character; higher agricultural organs instructed farms to settle accounts for output produced based on planned indices and not on the average level achieved in three to five previous years. Secondly, mechanized detachment formation does not always go along with distinct organization of subsections, a shift to a shop structure of administration. Experience shows that after growing agricultural crops a mechanized team should be farm independent, organizationally separated from subsections which service livestock raising and fulfill transport assignments. In addition, instructions from the chief agronomer on technological issues follow a long route: chief agronomer, section committee head, mechanized detachment leader, machine operator. The specialist assumes the role of an advisor and, in essence, is not responsible for the final result.

This discrepancy is being removed by the introduction of agricultural production administration according to branch principle. Thus the number of administration degrees is shortened and the operativeness in deciding production issues is raised. The subordination of brigade contract collectives to the section committee head is one reason for their downfall, since technology and working force at his direction are often used outside the sphere of basic production and the mechanized detachments lose their farm independence.

But the chief factor inhibiting the mass introduction of brigade contracts is the still levelling character of time advances. Sociologic studies show that even in Bashtanskiy Rayon, where the brigade contract has been utilized for a long time and quite successfully, only a third of the collectives have favorable conditions for brigade contract functioning from the standpoint of organization and material incentive functioning. There is about the same number of subsections without an essential basis for a collective contract, for which reason they may disintegrate or remaining organized, will not provide the anticipated effect.

The situation can be improved by utilizing progressive rates for the harvest raised as was stressed in the CC CPSU and USSR Soviet of Ministers decision "On measures to strengthen the material interest of rural workers in output production and raising its quality." Actually the level of present agreement-premium payment is too dependent on the harvest planned, and its method of determination in agriculture, especially in a droughty zone, is far from perfect. Price determination on the basis of an average yield for the last three to five years is not fully satisfactory either. Collectives which achieve stably high yields find themselves in an uncomfortable situation. Therefore, it appears that payment does not always reflect the collective's real work efforts. This impedes their development. The most effective relationship between work payment and its final results is assured, as already mentioned before, by a system of material incentives based on progressive norms of encouragement for the harvest raised. Its essence lies in the fact that instead of stable norms, flexible norms for encouragement in each crop are introduced depending on the actual yield but within

the limits of a mechanized detachment scale. Incentive norms increase from a low to high yield. This system is applied on oblast farms in two variants. The first one provides for computation of prices for production coming out of the whole agreement work payment fund, including the tariff portion of earnings and additional production pay. The second variant prices are computed only from the outside tariff fund.

An equally complex problem is to divide the collective earnings among the machine operators justly according to the effort expended. Experience over many years shows that a form of advancement on account of production is an important consideration for an effective utilization of the brigade contract. Since in plant growing a large time gap exists between work expenditure and the receipt of ready production, a need arises for a monthly pay account. In the brigade contract system it fulfills the function of an advance. Today in oblast kolkhozes and sovkhozes an equal advance for all machine operators with category increases is most popular.

We could cite numerous examples where machine operator collectives successfully utilize this simplified variant of time advances. At the same time, attempts to introduce it more widely often ended in failure: collectives disbanded, the idea of time advances itself seemed compromised.

The problem is that the use of brigade contract with time advances anticipates a certain levelling in computing machine operator wages. This system is effective if the skill and work contribution of each collective member is more or less the same. Workers must, therefore, be selected to provide for mutual high expectations, mutual confidence and solidarity. If the collective is formed on voluntary principles, on the basis of a personal selection with consideration of qualifications, individual-psychologic qualities of each machine operator, then an equal advance may be used in it successfully. But the possibilities for organizing such collectives are fairly limited, and so the application of simplified variants of time advances is also limited. Attempts to introduce such payments on a wider scale inevitably lead to levelling in work payments, increased conflict in newly established collectives and finally to their downfall.

A differentiation in time advances providing a more or less accurate count of work amount and quality eliminates such conflict. It is achieved through the introduction of a time calculation of work expenditures and advance calculation depending on the kind of work done, type of tractor, tariff qualification category, etc. Two advance variants have spread widely on farms in Nikolayev area: one considers the tractor make, the other the tariff qualification category of work allotted. With an increase in the machine operator collective, the specific weight of brigades with an extended advance differentiation rises also. It is clear why. Tariff qualification categories allotted to machine operators allow for a full and all-

around evaluation. We have enough examples of collectives which were unsuccessful with equal pay advances but when changed to differentiation the work became even and stable.

A noteworthy example is the cost accounting experience of machine operator collectives in Novoodeskiy Rayon. At first an equal advance was introduced for machine operators on all farms. But because conditions were not appropriate everywhere, the agreement did not work full force. In order to remove a tendency towards levelling in wages, the equal advance was changed to a differentiated advance based on tariff qualification categories.

This system has been in effect for several years at the kolkhoz "Shlyakh do Kommunizmu"; it is quite successful in removing the above mentioned shortcomings and provides for higher brigade contract effectiveness. Categories are determined here by a commission of specialists taking into account general educational and special preparation, work experience and tractor or combine make on which the machine operator works. In addition, based on a private questionnaire subsection member work attitude is also considered. For each indication a certain amount of points is accumulated on a special scale. Their total sum characterizes machine operator qualifications, work and moral qualities according to which each is assigned a category from first to fifth.

In recent years there is an ever wider application of machine operator wage differentiation based on the introduction of work participation coefficients. The essence of this method lies in not only registering work attendance during the month, but also work participation and work attitude. The mechanized detachment council, whose role becomes more important in this instance, conducts a point evaluation of these indices and makes a final determination of the work participation coefficient. This can be from 0 to 1.5 points. The size of the wage advance is then determined on this basis. Additional payments and production premiums are also divided proportionally among the machine operators. Therefore the differentiation is complete -- both current wages and payments for final work results.

This system contributes towards skill improvement and conscientious attitude by each mechanized team member without violating the foundations of the principle of time wage advances. It provides an opportunity not only to punish the transgressor, but also to point out the leader who made the largest contribution towards achieving a high yield.

Recounting how the work participation coefficient is applied by the collective council, managers of the kolkhoz imeni Kotovskiy in Vradiyivskiy Rayon cited the following example. During sowing and between row tilling of sunflower and corn machine operator A.K. Stokratnyy achieved a high degree of even lines and accuracy. Also, during each shift he fulfilled almost a norm and a half. Earlier, when the same advance payment was in effect, the leading

machine operator would have no advantages in work payment. Now the mechanized detachment council increased his work participation coefficient to 1.5 and thereby the amount of his advance payment and work payment portion for the final result.

Either variant may be introduced into practice only when most of the machine operators agree with it.

The search continues for optimal variants of work payment. Scholarly collectives and scientists should provide more active help. The agricultural agreement fully corresponds to the party's economic strategy at the present time, its contribution to the realization of the Provisions Program can and should be much more sizeable.

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REGIONAL

ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS IN AGROINDUSTRIAL INTEGRATION

Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 5 Oct 82 p 2

[Article by Ye. Madis, Candidate of Historical Sciences, Docent at the Tallinn Polytechnical Institute: "The Alliance of Hammer and Sickle: On the Role of the Working Class in Agroindustrial Integration" under the rubric "Political Talk"]

[Text] From times immemorial the working people have been calling the earth their nursing mother. But as the proverb goes, it is not the earth that nourishes but the human hand. According to another proverb, the earth rests on the farmer's hand. And indeed, many of our surroundings originate from the field and farm. Economists have calculated that three-fourths of all goods are fabricated from farm produce. More than one-half of them are foodstuffs.

The flow of varied and high-quality foodstuffs, manufactured goods and cultural and consumer goods is steadily growing. A further increase in the welfare of the Soviet people will take place during the current and the subsequent five-year plan periods.

This is hardly an elemental process. It is taking place owing to the scientifically substantiated, planned and purposeful policies of the CPSU.

The 26th CPSU Congress has, in putting forward a broad program for social development and improvements in national welfare, placed priority on improving the food supply of the population. To accomplish this task, on the initiative of comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and in accordance with the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the USSR Food Program for the Period Until 1990 has been drafted. On 24 May 1982 the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee has approved this program, which is a most important ingredient of the party's economic strategy for the coming decade. The Plenum's resolution emphasizes that the implementation of the Food Program is a central task of the party and state during the 11th and 12th Five-Year Plan periods.

As pointed out at the 26th party congress, the Food Program should assure a considerable increase in agricultural output. It should link agriculture more closely to the subsectors dealing with the storage and processing of its output, as well as to trade. Its purpose is to provide a smooth supply of food to the population as rapidly as possible.

The leading role in this vast project is assigned to the country's APK [Integrated Agrarian-Industrial Complex]. The Food Program is an organic part of the development plan for the national APK and of the national economic plan for the 11th Five-Year period and in the long run also until 1990. It is noteworthy that, as adopted by the 26th CPSU Congress, the Basic Directions of Economic and Social Development for 1981-1985 and the Period Until 1990 contain for the first time a separate chapter on "The Development of the Agrarian-Industrial Complex" (previously: "Development of Agriculture").

The national AGRARIAN-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX /printed in boldface/ represents the totality of the integrated spheres, branches and enterprises linked by a planned social division of labor, existing in a production-technical and organizational unity, and assuring an expanded reproduction of foodstuffs and consumer goods produced by industrial techniques from agricultural raw materials in accordance with the needs of society and communist construction. The attainment of the end-goal of the APK--the fullest satisfaction of consumer needs for food and other goods produced from agricultural raw materials at a minimum total outlay of labor and means of production, is possible only on the basis of a proportional and balanced development of all the subsectors and types of production of the APK as well as of growth in the effectiveness and quality of performance.

The party documents not only define the nature of the APK but also distinguish among such concepts as the food complex and the industrial complex, define their relationship, and spell out the leading role of the working class in the APK as a whole and in its subsystems.

THE NATIONAL FOOD COMPLEX /printed in boldface/ is regarded as a subsystem of the APK, concerned with the production and marketing of foodstuffs. It plays the central role in the structure of the APK. The food complex is almost entirely part of the APK but does not reduce to it.

THE INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX /printed in boldface/, as defined by Soviet scientists, consists of the subsectors updating the equipment of agriculture--comprehensive mechanization, use of chemicals, land reclamation.

It is sometimes asked why is it that such attention is being paid to the agroindustrial complex in the early 1980s. The answer is that the formation and development of the APK are a logical and objective process of the economic development of the country and primarily of socialist agriculture. The process of the concentration of productive forces in agriculture had begun as far back as in the 1930s when collectivization was introduced. Its second stage was the mergers of kolkhozes into larger units, accomplished in the 1950s. In our republic both these processes (collectivization and farm enlargement) took place almost simultaneously in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Under advanced socialism a third stage has now set in--the stage of the broad development of inter-farm coproduction and agroindustrial cooperation, that is, it is precisely at present that the agroindustrial complex is being intensively set up in our country. The need for this complex stems from the needs of the nation's economic development and the requirements of the scientific and technical revolution, which is accelerating the process of the division of social labor and the development and increase in complexity of the links among various spheres of production on the basis of specialization, coproduction and interfarm integration. Improvements in the APK are the means of resolving highly important socio-economic problems in the 1980s.

The trend toward the concentration of agricultural production in the modern era was substantiated by K. Marx and F. Engels and broadly elucidated by V. I. Lenin. The union of farming with industry and the gradual elimination of differences between agricultural and industrial labor was viewed by them as a major plank in the program for the formation of communism. V. I. Lenin stressed that "bringing together and unifying industry with farming" is a fundamental problem of the socialist society.

Under the APK the production contacts between town and country, as based on the fraternal joint work of peasants and workers, which had played a major role in the preceding stage of communist construction, are now logically advancing to a higher stage of production-economic cooperation, which V. I. Lenin had termed the union of industry and farming on the basis of a deliberate application of science and combination of collective labor.

The scientists of our country and of the other socialist countries unanimously agree that the APK occupies a special place in the system of national-economic, branch and territorial complexes. The APK is a relatively distinct group of integrated production that includes three basic spheres (groups of subsectors). Sphere 1 covers the industrial subsectors providing agriculture and other spheres of the complex with means of production; rural construction; and the subsectors providing agriculture with equipment and other supplies and services. Sphere 2 comprises agriculture. Sphere 3 contains the subsectors handling the transportation, storage, processing and marketing of agricultural output.

Proceeding from the logical sequence of economic links among these three spheres, the process of agroindustrial intergration may be conditionally depicted in the form of the following chain:

Production of industrial
means of production for
agriculture

Production of
agricultural
output

Processing of agricultural
raw materials into finished
products

All the APK subsector groups are interlinked by a planned division of labor. The functioning of the spheres (or subsystems) of the APK is intended to meet the needs of working people for food and of industry for raw materials.

The development of the APK entails a large number of aspects: improvements in the material-technical facilities of the APK; main directions of the Food Program; strengthening of the non-food sphere; formation of the production and social-communal infrastructure; increase in effectiveness; improvements in the machinery of management and others.

In the current five-year period nearly one-third of all capital outlays on the national economy has been allocated for developing the APK and refining its structure.

The tasks facing agriculture are particularly great and responsible. As pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, agriculture faces the same main problem as the other branches of the national economy--improving its performance and quality. The countryside will continue to be assigned major financial and material resources, and the planned industrialization of agriculture will continue. But now the center of gravity will--this being THE DISTINGUISHING FEATURE OF AGRARIAN POLICIES IN THE 1980s--

shift to the **YIELD OF FIXED ASSETS** /printed in boldface/, to growth of agricultural productivity and strengthening and improvement of the bonds linking the APK subsectors.

During 1965-1980 a major shift has taken place in the development of the national and Union-republic APK subsectors. Thirty-seven percent of all fixed assets of the national economy became concentrated within this sector of the economy, which employs more than 40 percent of all labor force. It generates 42 percent of the country's national income.

Consider just a few comparisons. Prior to the October Revolution and during the first few post-Revolutionary years the level of inter-subsector connections had been extremely low. Industrial means of production accounted for barely a little more than 1 percent of the cost of agricultural gross output. The processing industry had been purchasing in the countryside at most 12.5 percent of the raw materials it produced. The inter-subsector connections of the countryside had also remained low during the collectivization period. As late as at the beginning of the 1950s the links between agriculture and the subsectors manufacturing for it means of production had still been weak. The countryside lacked many types of machinery, mineral fertilizers, etc., which had been adversely affecting labor productivity in the kolkhozes and sovkhoses. Altogether, every second able-bodied inhabitant of this country had been working in agriculture, and only half as many persons were employed in industry and construction. A huge part of agricultural output was consumed without prior industrial processing. Rural inhabitants, who in the early 1950s accounted for 61 percent of the country's entire population, lived on grain, meat and other produce that were chiefly raised and grown on their private land plots.

At the March (1965) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee the party took the course toward increasing capital investments in agriculture, strengthening the material-technical base and improving the planning and economic stimulation of agricultural production, toward improving the living conditions of the rural population. The directives of that Plenum, which had been elaborated by a number of subsequent Plenums and the 24th to 26th congresses of the CPSU, provided the foundation for the party's modern scientific agrarian policy. The implementation of the party's policy resulted in changes in the socio-economic position of agriculture in the national economy. Owing to the fast rate of industrial development, the growth in the volume of agricultural output has been accompanied by a decrease in the share of agriculture in the gross national product. Agricultural employment decreased markedly. The direction of the development of the kolkhozes and sovkhoses is being increasingly determined by the raw material needs of the industrial subsectors. The specialization of agricultural production and its inter-farm and inter-subsector links are increasing. At the same time, agriculture is gradually transferring many of its functions to industry. The industrial subsectors working for agriculture are becoming specialized.

This has given rise to specialized subsectors: tractor and agricultural machine building, machine building for animal husbandry and feed production, chemical industry, microbiological industry, mineral fertilizer and pesticide industry, processing of agricultural raw materials, and the production-technical supply system (the USSR Goskomsel'khoztekhnika [State Committee for Agricultural Equipment], the Soyuzsel'khozkhimiya [All-Union Association of Agrochemical Industry], etc.). All this necessitates closer interaction and cooperation of **ALL APK SUBSECTORS**./printed in boldface/

In the stage of advanced socialism the social division of labor becomes increasingly deepened. The production and processing of agricultural raw materials into foodstuffs and other commodities is done with the participation of many specialized subsectors and types of production whose operations combine into a single economic and often also technological process.

The strengthening of the links among the APK subsectors manifests itself in that, as a result of scientific and technical progress, the demand of agriculture (sphere 2) for material resources and services of other branches (spheres 1 and 3) is rising each year, while the demand of these other branches for agricultural output also is rising. In 1959, for example, the output of 28 out of the 65 subsectors included in the inter-subsector balance sheet was used in agriculture, whereas by 1972 as many as 53 out of 78 subsectors were involved. Of the industrial output consumed by agriculture, the fuel subsectors account for 28 percent; the machine building and metal-working subsectors, 28 percent; chemical industry, 14 percent; and the remaining subsectors, 10 percent. Industrial subsectors produce 60 percent of the means of production and fixed assets used by agriculture. This is clear proof of the inevitable ongoing process of the industrialization of agriculture and, of course, growing role of the working class, especially of its industrial ranks. Of the material expenditures on agricultural production, past labor, including industrial labor, accounts for 64.5 percent. To be sure, animal husbandry has so far been provided with only 22 percent of industrial means of production.

On the other hand, agriculture is a sufficiently capacious market for industrial goods. Industry provides it with some 70 percent of its entire volume of output of tractors, 96 percent of combine harvesters, more than 29 percent of trucks, and four-fifth of its output of mineral fertilizers, as well as with all of its output of pesticides and fungicides. The demand for building materials, construction machinery, electrical equipment, etc. is rising sharply. In 1959 industry had processed about 40 percent of agricultural output while in 1972 it processed more than 53 percent. The demand for unprocessed products dropped to 25 from 33 percent. Agriculture is being actively included in the process of the social circulation of money and goods. More than 90 percent of its output is marketed directly through the state procurements system.

These days, as envisaged in the plans for the 11th and 12th Five-Year Plan periods, the proportions within the APK are being further refined. The most important principle is that of placing priority on a faster development of sphere 1 of APK, whose subsectors assure a rise in labor productivity and effectiveness of the entire APK. A number of economists have calculated that the indicators of maturity of the structure of the national APK represent such ratios of employment by subsector group as would leave sphere 2, that is, agriculture proper, with not more than 20 percent of the total employment within the APK. This task is yet to be accomplished.

The proportional and balanced development of all the subsectors of the APK makes it possible to solve successively social problems, gradually overcome major differences among social classes and groups, and advance on the path toward transforming agrarian labor into a variety of industrial labor. The decisive role in this process belongs to the working class, which is employed in subsectors of sphere 1 of the APK, as well as of sphere 3. Besides, agriculture itself employs the agrarian detachment of the working class, whose role is growing.

The press has published the text of the USSR Food Program for the Period Until 1990 and of the system of measures to implement it, as adopted by the May Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. Readers have been informed of the 7th Plenum of the Estonian CP Central Committee, which adopted the resolution "On the Results of the May (1982) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the Tasks of the Republic's Party Organization Ensuing from the Report of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, 'On the USSR Food Program for the Period Until 1990 and Measures to Implement It,' as well as on the Specific Tasks of the Republic and of Individual Rayons as Regards Implementing the Food Program." Attentive perusal of these documents and materials demonstrates that the leading role in the formation and development of the national and republic APK, as in all other spheres--economic, political, ideological and spiritual--of our life, has been, is, and will continue even more to be played by the working class and its vanguard the CPSU, which now is the vanguard of the entire nation. And the working class responds in a responsible manner to its ^{new} mission. Each day brings news about the fulfillment and overfulfillment of orders of the countryside by the work collectives of the Estonian GRES [State Regional Electric Power Plant], the "Talleks" Production Association, the chemical plants of the shale basin, the Maardu plant, the Vyyt Tartu Agricultural Machinery Plant, the Pyarnu Food Machinery Plant, and many others. Patronage links between town and country have become broader and imbued with a new content.

To paraphrase the proverb, it can be quite justifiably said that our socialist society rests not only on the farmer's hand, although it remains as close to earth as possible, but also on the industrious and talented hands of the entire Soviet people.

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